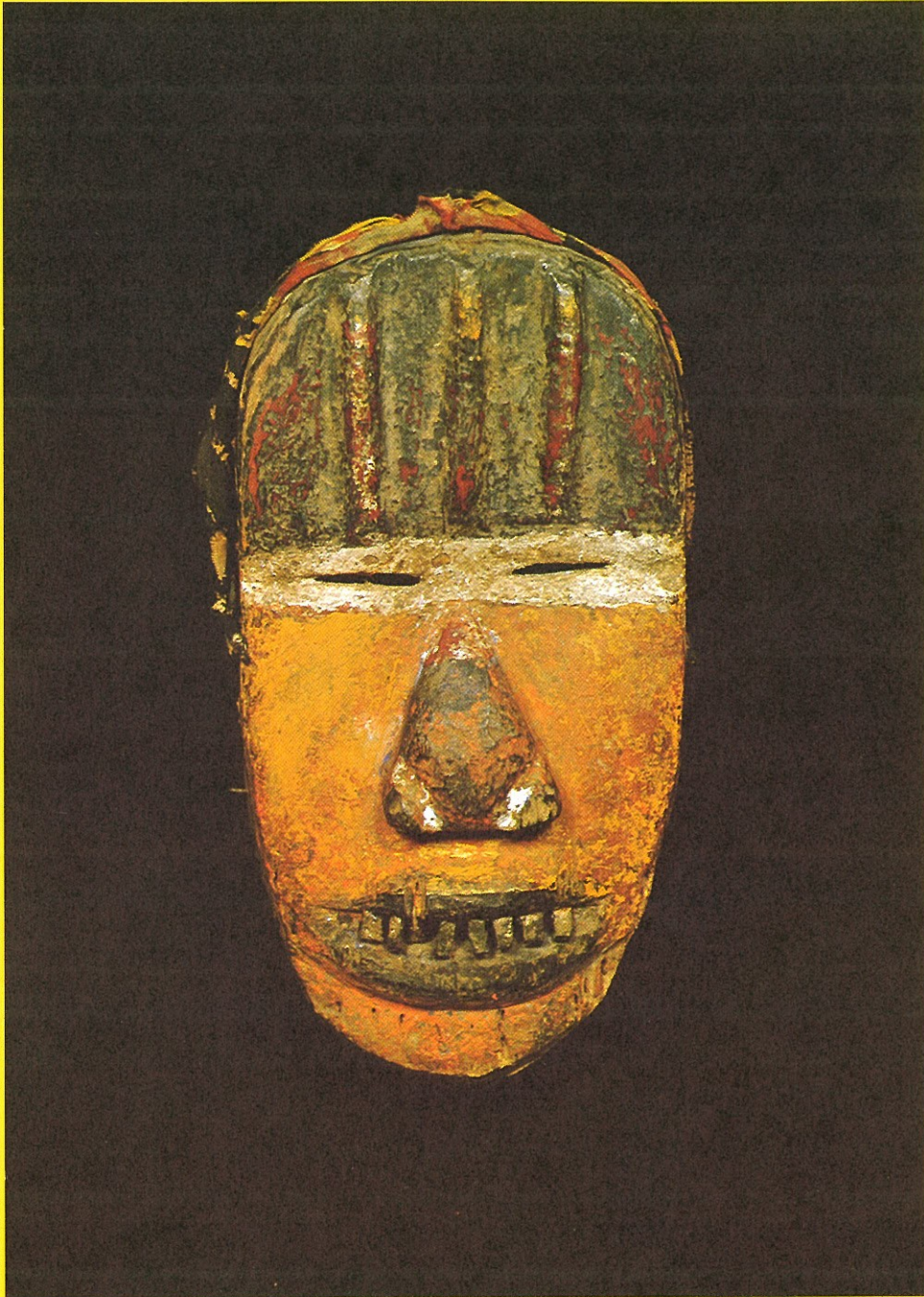


SEPTEMBER 1974

MUNGER AFRICANA LIBRARY NOTES



26 THE AFRIKANER AS SEEN ABROAD

Munger Africana Library Notes, issued six times a year, are eclectic within the field of Africana.

Issues are generated from seminars by distinguished visitors, reports of current field research, unpublished historical manuscripts, and other material deemed useful to Africanists. Large color photographs of African art objects or of subjects illustrative of the text are a feature of all issues since Volume I.

The Editorial Board is drawn from Africanists at the Institute who have published research on African topics.

Robert Bates (PhD MIT) Political Science
Margaret Rouse Bates (PhD Harvard) Political Science
Robert Dilworth (PhD Caltech) Mathematics
Robert Huttenback (PhD UCLA) History
Edwin Munger (PhD Chicago) Political Geography
Roger Noll (PhD Harvard) Economics
Robert Oliver (PhD Princeton) Economics
Thayer Scudder (PhD Harvard) Anthropology

Viewpoints expressed in these Notes are solely the responsibility of the individual authors and may or may not have the concurrence of the editorial board.

Assistant Editors:

Monique Le Blanc (MA UCLA) African Studies
Joanne Clark (BA CSCLA) English

Librarian: Charlene Baldwin (MA Chicago)

Business Manager: Kathie Marcum

Circulation Manager: Joy Hays

Subscriptions: \$10 a volume. Prices of individual issues vary, but the total cost of a year's issues is always in excess of the \$10 subscription price. Business and editorial correspondence should be addressed to:

Munger Africana Library
California Institute of Technology
Pasadena, California 91109 U.S.A.

MUNGER AFRICANA LIBRARY NOTES

Three Dollars

Issue #26

September 1974

THE AFRIKANER AS SEEN ABROAD

Edwin S. Munger

© 1974 California Institute of Technology

FRONT COVER: Dan Mask. Wood, metal teeth, remnants of cloth. Touba region, Ivory Coast. Courtesy the Dr. Victor Du Bois Collection.

This study was presented in draft form at a Workshop of the Abe Bailey Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town. The author is grateful to the Ford Foundation for a travel grant to present the paper.

The papers will be published in 1975 and edited by the Director of the Center. Eleven of the contributions will be in Afrikaans and three in English. The contributions by Afrikaner scholars included penetrating and critical analyses of the past and of the Afrikaner's role in modern society. Most of these contributors were relatively young and eschewed the conventional and stereotypic interpretations of Afrikaner history. The workshop included a wide range of Afrikaner views, although primarily those of "verlig" or enlightened political views. The proceedings were widely reported in the Afrikaans press. Details and translations of Afrikaans titles are as follows:

- Die Afrikaner Vandag (The Afrikaner Today) edited by H. W. Van der Merwe, and published by Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1975.
- Dr. Herman Giliomee, Historian, University of Stellenbosch.
Die Ontwikkeling van die Afrikaner se Selfkonsepsies
(The Development of the Afrikaner's Self-Conceptions)
- Dr. Heinz Kloss, Linguist, Institute for German Languages, Mannheim.
The Unfolding of Afrikaans in its Germanic, African and World Context
- Professor J. L. Sadie, Economist, University of Stellenbosch.
Die Ekonomiese Ontwikkeling van die Afrikaner
(The Economic Development of the Afrikaner)
- Mr. C. J. van der Merwe, Political Scientist, Rand Afrikaans University.
Die Posisie van die Afrikaner in die Politieke Magsstruktuur
(The Position of the Afrikaner in the Political Power Structure)
- Dr. Dunbar Moodie, Sociologist, University of Natal, Durban.
The Afrikaner's Religion
- Dr. Cornie Alant, Sociologist, University of South Africa.
Die Rol van die Kerk in Die Moderne Afrikanersamelewing
(The Role of the Church in Modern Afrikaner Society)
- Mr. J. P. Groenewald, Sociologist, University of Stellenbosch.
Ethniese Identiteit en Maatskaplike Afstandby Die Afrikaner
(Ethnic Identity and Social Distance)
- Dr. Johann Strauss, Sociologist, University of the Orange Free State.
Verandering En Identiteit (Change and Identity)
- Professor H. W. van der Merwe, Sociologist, and Mr. Johann Potgieter.
Basiese Verandering Binne Strukturele Raamwerk
(Basic Change Within the Existing Structure)
- Professor E. S. Munger, Caltech. The Afrikaner as Seen Abroad
- Mrs. Nancy C. J. Charlton, Political Scientist, Rhodes University.
The Afrikaner as Seen from an English (South African) Perspective
- Dr. R. E. van der Ross, Rector (Chief Executive) University of the Western Cape. Die Afrikaner Soos Gesien Deur Die Kleurlinge
(The Afrikaner as Seen by the Coloured People)
- Mr. W. A. de Klerk, Novelist and Essayist.
Die Toekoms van Afrikaans en die Afrikaner
(The Future of Afrikaans and the Afrikaner)

INTRODUCTION

Ethnic groups and nations tend to recognize their own assets and liabilities. For example, in Ireland there is belief in a regional ability to produce men of extraordinary literary talents, as well as in a capacity to imbibe well, if not always wisely. National self-images are not always the same as the stereotypical views of outsiders, though there is often a fairly high degree of coincidence between what a people think of themselves and what others think of them. It is often not clear whether the foreign image comes to be accepted at home (Latins as lovers) or whether the domestic image is projected abroad. The verity of an image may be debated without disagreement that an image exists. Frenchmen may be particularly discerning about wines and have an image abroad of knowing how to handle alcohol without getting drunk, whereas official French figures show a high incidence of chronic alcoholism as compared with other nations. Students of Tahitian society do not always agree with the prevalent outside view of the average Tahitian life style as carefree and hedonistic, since they are aware of the many taboos that restrict it and create internal fears.

Today Afrikaners are probably one group in which the self-image differs most widely from the world image. Let us look at a few characteristics which the writer -- and probably most Afrikaners -- view as being among the most positive Afrikaner assets. Afrikaners tend to think of their volk as being deeply religious and as having close family ties. This image does not project abroad. Outside South Africa people do not speak of the familial devotion; on the contrary, they may speak pejoratively of Afrikaners as being religiously bigoted, un-Christian, and responsible for breaking up thousands of Christian and non-Christian families. It is hard to find foreigners who are cognizant of the genuine concern expressed by the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church) about African families and about the sociological problems many Africans encounter in seeking work outside the Homelands.

It is particularly galling to many leading Afrikaners that the broad cross section of Christian bodies speak out against the South African government, and often appear to align themselves with atheistic communism. But in country after country the sharpest critics of Afrikaners are indeed churchmen. The World Council of Churches is the bete noire of many devoted Afrikaners. The Lutheran churches

of Scandinavia and the Episcopal (Anglican) churches in the United States are establishment churches, supposedly representing the more conservative and wealthier elements in those societies; but they are at the forefront as critics of Afrikaners and Afrikaner government.

The many positive aspects of Afrikaans cultural life are all but unknown abroad. The extraordinary devotion to Afrikaans as a language, perhaps the newest of the world's well-developed languages, is not appreciated. True, a professor in Germany may speak of Afrikaans poetry as the finest in the whole dietse wereld, but, except in the Netherlands where fine poets like Elizabeth Eybers are known, there is a general lack of appreciation. The long struggle to develop Afrikaans, from the first language movement through to the establishment of Die Burger and the fight to make Afrikaans an official language, is not known in other countries.

In the field of literature, South African authors are relatively well known, but unfortunately for the Afrikaner the image of him presented by the South African writers who are most read abroad is far from flattering. Alan Paton's works are not distinguished by sympathy for the Afrikaner, nor are Nadine Gordimer's short stories, the writings of Dan Jacobsen, and the novels of Peter Abrahams. Afrikaners may find cold comfort in the fact that Paton's Too Late the Phalarope, which characterizes them unfavorably, is probably his weakest novel and is not nearly as widely read abroad as Cry, the Beloved Country. Paradoxically, such liberal publications as the New York Times tend to project the few favorable images of change or improvement in South Africa that appear in their columns through articles by Alan Paton. If he says some condition is better -- that some good comes out of Separate Homelands, for example -- then, apparently, it can be believed.

Some aspects of the struggle of the Afrikaner against British imperialism are known and appreciated, but these are largely historical and are interwoven with the name of Paul Kruger and the "Boer War." Few non-Afrikaners acknowledge the concept that the Afrikaners were the first anti-colonialists in Africa, from Adam Tas to General Smuts (in his early years) to Dr. Verwoerd. More often present day Afrikaners are accused of being the last of the colonialists in Africa.

If religious devotion and the Afrikaans cultural struggle are only vaguely appreciated, and are even turned against Afrikaners, a third

source of Afrikaner pride -- sporting prowess -- is beginning to be somewhat reflected abroad. The Afrikaner's favorite team sport, and probably his forte, is rugby football. But the rest of the world -- notably the Latin countries of Europe and South America, most of Africa, and the larger part of Asia -- is devoted to soccer football. Whatever reputation the Afrikaner has gained in rugby in such strongholds of the game as the British Isles, France, and the Antipodes, has been obscured or besmirched by politics. The growing prowess of South Africans in cricket has made some impact, but this is largely restricted to countries that belong, or have belonged, to the Commonwealth; it is not Afrikaners who are admired for their cricketing skill in Jamaica or in Australia.

Again, the South African names that are world famous in the individual sports such as golf and tennis tend to be English in origin -- for example, Bobby Locke and Gary Player in golf. One change over time is that where a good many admirers of Locke thought of him vaguely as some unusual sort of British gentleman, Gary Player is known far and wide not only as a South African but as an outspoken supporter of Prime Minister Vorster and the South African cause. South Africans can, of course, reel off Afrikaans names of both men and women in tennis. But although South Africa is recognized in tennis circles as having produced a succession of strong players from a small white population, the men's names currently heard abroad are Drysdale, Moore, and Maud. The Afrikaners' great feat in winning the Federation Cup did not bring much recognition to the idea of Afrikaners as tennis players.

There is a measure of recognition of Afrikaner prowess in sports such as track and swimming, in which interest peaks in Olympic years. But Gert Potgieter's gold medal in the 440 hurdles and the feats of more recent stars with Afrikaans names, such as Danie Malan and Fanie Van Zijl, have not made the impact that the sudden emergence of the Kenyan athletes has done. Afrikaner boxers have made a tremendous record in proportion to population. But here again, the greatest kudos on the world fight scene seem to be reserved for the heavyweights, whereas the most successful Afrikaner boxers have been in the middleweights. In fact, in many fields of sport the complaints that South Africans have not had a fair shake at world recognition are legitimate. Swimming star Karen Muir is but one example.

In the brief compass of this paper, the objective is to give an overall view of how the Afrikaner is perceived outside his own country. It

cannot be emphasized too strongly that what is presented is not the facts but the image of the Afrikaner. My original workshop paper, although necessarily selective, ran over 100 pages; including additional notes, the final form would have been over 200 pages. About one-quarter of the material can be presented here due to space limitations. We have concentrated upon Canada, because of its bilingual nature; the U.S., because of its world influence; the Netherlands, because of its historical tie with Afrikaners; and also some black African countries. But first some brief comments are made on views of other nations.

A WORLD OVERVIEW

In Britain in particular interpretations given the newspaper readers about Afrikaners are often written by South Africans, especially English-speaking ones, many of whom are in exile. The rare Afrikaner who writes, such as Anthony Delius' "The Afrikaners" in the Observer Magazine (December 15, 1968: 13-25) is almost always highly critical. Even academic polemics tend to be by South Africans. For example, a sociologist from Witwatersrand University wrote in the British Journal of Sociology on "The Afrikaners as an Emergent Minority" (Drew, 1969) and two years later was answered by three University of Natal faculty members (Close, Kinloch, and Schlemmer, 1971).

The only comparable filter to Britains learning about Afrikaners from South Africans is the degree to which the Afrikaner image is presented to American college students by Africans from all over the continent. In the New York City area alone, over fifty Africans teach African Studies courses which touch on Afrikaners. This situation is less true in Britain. A black South African living in Britain, who has a doctorate in the social sciences, did observe in a letter to me (January 1974) that the "upper class Englishmen with whom I come into contact like to hear from me that Afrikaners are worse than English-speaking whites." But another black South African teaching in Britain commented (in a personal letter, February 1974), "Most people here no longer distinguish between Afrikaners and English-speaking whites." The most favorable image of Afrikaners is often found in The Economist. One report (August 7, 1965) began, "Not the black African word uhuru but the white Afrikaner word vryheid was the first slogan of freedom in Africa." Such assorted reactions are reflected against the historical background of Britain's long

involvement with Afrikaners, and, particularly, the pro-Boer movement in Britain, which was recently described in depth by Stephen Koss (1973).

The influence of an entirely government-controlled media may account for the sharp difference of views on Afrikaners held by people in East Germany as compared with West Germany, although for those in the age twenty group the differences were not as marked (according to Dr. Bernd Witte, interview in September 1973). The German Democratic Republic attempts to hurt the Bonn government in Africa by referring to "B. J. Vorster and his West German disciples" (Von der Ropp, 1972: 224). Paradoxically, many Catholics in the Christian Democratic Party are favorable toward Calvinist Afrikaners, whereas Protestants, especially the Lutheran Church, are antagonistic toward the Dutch Reformed Churches. Some Germans attribute this to less Catholic guilt about the Nazi period. The campaign of the World Council of Churches has increased awareness of Afrikaners among the 5 percent of Protestants who are churchgoers and among the 30 percent of Catholics who attend mass.

Scandinavian attitudes include the Danes with their support of Liberation Fronts; the Norwegians with their Nobel Peace Prize to the late Albert Luthuli; and the Swedes, who, judging by their press, are the most anti-Afrikaner western nation. I gave a seminar in Stockholm in 1956 under the aegis of Professor Herbert Tingsten, then editor of the popular morning daily, Dagens Nyheter, and the author of a book highly critical of Afrikaner views. When I discussed ideas then current in Afrikaner circles, the hostility of the students and younger staff was so palpable that I felt I was explaining Satan to the twelve apostles. This attitude did not keep anti-American students from repeatedly vilifying the black American Ambassador Jerome Holland and calling him a "nigger." Risto Hyvarinen, currently Finland's Ambassador to both Yugoslavia and Greece, believes (as he told me in February 1974) that the reason for much less anti-Afrikaner feeling in Finland than elsewhere in Scandinavia is because the Finns equate the struggle they made against a massive imperialist nation, Russia, with the struggle the Boers had at the same time against the might of the British Empire. Also, Finnish missionaries in northern South West Africa, the Ambassador continued, have been able to convey a glimmer of understanding to some Finns that Southern Africa differs from Scandinavia.

West European attitudes toward Afrikaners were well summarized by South African Roy McNab, who wrote that to "hold the view that

the Boers were splendid people, but the Afrikaners are detestable and morally degenerate," or that "Afrikaners are merely Boers brought genetically up-to-date, is to fail to understand why there should be sympathetic approval for one and blanket hostility for the other. The truth is that Boers and Afrikaners belong to two watertight compartments of the mind, which, apparently, no effort of the imagination can link" (McNab, 1973: 159).

In Rumania, Poland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union knowledge of the Afrikaners seems to be largely restricted to Africa specialists. The image is monolithic and uniformly bad, although occasionally someone will recall that Lenin supported the Boers.

A Polish intellectual said, in response to our query, that "white settlers from South Africa" are looked upon as a negative phenomena. But he commented further, "Those who have friends or relatives there do not 'fight' apartheid. It is a well-known fact that a great part of the white people there have nothing in common with the policy of apartheid. The progressive part of our society is against apartheid because it reminds us of the Nazi occupation of Poland. We also know that the British established concentration camps, which remind us of those in Poland during the last war, and we are partly admiring of the fight made by the Boers for their independence. As for the Rhodesia case, nearly all of our people are against minority rule."

Soviet refusals to participate in meetings with South Africans are long-standing,¹ and are in contrast with the Cuban participation at the World Sugar Conference in Durban in June 1974. The following observations (February 1974) by a Russian lecturer who has studied both at the University of Moscow and at Patrice Lumumba University are illuminating:

The official position is that all white South Africans are racists. I have only met one white South African couple and I think they were Dutch. They were racist and I don't want to meet any more. The image my friends and I -- and we are obviously far above average in knowledge of world affairs -- have had of Afrikaners or white South Africans was of people who lived in luxury with a lot of swimming pools. They must be very unintellectual because it is that kind of people who pioneer and colonize. The country should belong to the black people because they were there and the whites came from Europe and

colonized. On the other hand I don't like the Africans I have met at home or in Europe. Maybe because I'm a blond girl, they make unpleasant passes at me.

In my numerous discussions with Soviet Africanists, they have rarely distinguished between English- and Afrikaans-speaking whites. On the anti-establishment front the whites are also viewed monolithically, although Solzhenitsyn (1973), while specifically criticizing South Africa's 90-day detention, also points out that a leader in black Africa may find himself ten years hence charged under a law he promulgated as so often happened in the Gulag Archipelago.

The Third World outside of Africa perceives Afrikaners but dimly. An informal survey of Ajijic, in the state of Jalisco, confirms that educated Mexicans know South Africa is white-ruled and has segregation. The official South African classification of the proud Mexicans as "Coloured" is not known (as stated in personal correspondence with Mr. Teg C. Grondahl, December 1973). In La Paz in 1971, a group of Afrikaners, including the South African Ambassador to Argentina, were staying in the same hotel where I was located. But in asking the Bolivian-on-the-street for his views, I discovered a mixture of ignorance and disinterest.

Elites in the Atlantic countries are more conscious of Afrikaners than are their counterparts in the Pacific coast countries of Latin America. In an interview in Rio de Janeiro with the key African adviser of former President Quadros, I found that the man's personal dislike of discrimination took second place to what would be best for Brazil with respect both to Angola and to South Africa. The reaction on the political right is even more pragmatic though Brazilians are facing a choice between closer ties with black Africa or with South Africa.² So far as South Africa is concerned, Brazilians do not draw distinctions between the two white groups. Prime Minister Vorster's first foreign visit happened to be as a tourist to Brazil, but I did not encounter a Brazilian who knew of it.

At the United Nations, the Caribbean nations devote more speeches to South Africa than to any other subject. For instance, between the 17th and the 24th sessions of the General Assembly, the Guyanese devoted 28 percent of all their speeches to southern Africa (Mathews, 1971: 9). But the people in the Caribbean draw the fewest distinctions between Afrikaners and all whites in southern Africa of any part of the world where South Africa is discussed.

In the judgment of Professor Harry Mathews of Northern Arizona University, a well-informed student of Caribbean affairs and black power politics, the Guyanese have replaced the Jamaicans as "the wild eyed radicals on South Africa" (interview, February 1974). The Jamaicans at the United Nations, especially in private, do speak of some "good whites" in South Africa, and do not follow the Guyanese lead in providing financial support for liberation forces.

Walter N. H. Robinson, an attorney and leader of the opposition in the Bermuda legislature, believes that it is the rare Bermudian who knows about the Boer War camps on the island and that few of his fellow countrymen know about Afrikaners. He has a negative image of them, but is curious to meet Afrikaners at home (interview, August 1973).

Asians know the least about Afrikaners, but opinions of them can be found everywhere. When South Africa introduced telephone service to Afghanistan, The Star inquired in a headline, "Care to ring an Afghan?" A colleague in Kabul asked educated Afghans about Afrikaners and all those who knew of their existence gave uncomplimentary replies (personal correspondence with Dr. Louis Dupree in Kabul, October 1973). I have discussed Afrikaans society in Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Malaysia, Singapore, Macao, Hong Kong, and Japan, and in very few of these places have I heard expressed any appreciation for the complex factors involved in southern Africa. Nor have I perceived much recognition that the severe racial tensions present in Asian countries might lend perspective to the South African situation. Indians have a particularly low tolerance for any analogies involving discrimination.

Australia and New Zealand are markedly different for obvious reasons. However, Australians have not really accepted the fact that most whites in South Africa are Afrikaans-speaking, and those who have done so resent it. Australian visitors have returned home complaining about bilingual signs in South Africa, though they apparently do not resent signs in both French and Flemish when they are in Brussels. David McNicoll, a conservative journalist of the old school tie, wrote in The Bulletin (Sydney, May 5, 1973) after being in South Africa: "Despite the efforts of several learned professors to convince me, I regard it as ludicrous and divisive that South Africa should have Afrikaans as a compulsory second language." There is condescension when speaking of Afrikaners, as the following anecdote, related by a South African living in Australia (December 1973) illustrates: Two Australians are

discussing a television appearance they have just finished watching of the current South African Ambassador, the Honorable John Mills.

A. "How did you think he went? I thought him rather impressive."

B. "He certainly was an able spokesman for apartheid."

A. "He must be a Boer, I suppose."

B. "Oh, I don't think so."

A. "Well, he had a funny kind of accent."

B. "Yes, but he has an English name."

Rugby-mad New Zealand is extraordinarily conscious of South Africa, and fans can recite the names of rugby stars. The identification is not always discriminating. Some years ago South Africa had a famous wing three quarter, D. O. Williams. The D. O. stood for Dai Owen, about as Welsh as one could find. But to his annoyance, the New Zealanders labeled him the "Flying Dutchman."

In 1957 I visited the leading newspaper and magazine editors in Auckland to ask their attitudes if the question of having Maoris play in South Africa ever came up, and whether New Zealand would ever refuse to meet an exclusively white team. The latter question struck most people as very far-fetched and most unlikely ever to become an issue. In a pub at Rotorua, a bus driver summed up the views of his blue collar mates while tossing darts: "Those Afrikaners are bloody tough in the scrum. Our Maori chaps are clever, though. My sister is married to one and he can always outrun me. But we won't have any trouble. Our Maoris are reasonable chaps."

CANADA

A former dominion, Canada shares with South Africa a long association with Great Britain and a common tradition of many British values. Canada too is a "new" pioneering country of vast extent, has had waves of European immigrants, and has roughly the same population. And yet, among all the predominantly white nations in the British Commonwealth, it was Canada that took the lead in attacking an Afrikaner Prime Minister and in forcing South Africa out of the Commonwealth.

Quebec has a special relevance in terms of looking at Afrikaans/English relationships in South Africa. Do French Canadians identify with Afrikaners because the latter are about one-third of French stock? Because French Canadians have also had to fight being swamped by English culture? Because French Canadians are similarly strongly Christian and their religious leaders strongly anti-Communist? Or are there countervailing forces? Do French Canadians think of themselves as nonracist and of Afrikaners as racists? Do they see Afrikaners as staunch Calvinists, anti-Catholic and afraid of "popery"? Do they recognize, perhaps, that Afrikaners dominate their country, while French Canadians "dominate" only one province, and might thus be more analogous to English-speaking whites in Natal? Of course, it is well to bear in mind in this connection that the number of Huegenots who migrated from France to Canada after the Edict of Nantes were relatively few as compared with the migration to South Africa.

Throughout this paper no assumption is made that other peoples should know about Afrikaners, for good or for ill. But it is sometimes significant to examine what opportunities exist to know about them. In the case of Canada, the well-read person does come across stories on South Africa in the newspapers and the libraries have some books. Those that mention Afrikaners usually do so pejoratively. One of the few academic statements about Afrikaners in the last decade was made by an Afrikaner, then at the University of Stellenbosch, who wrote on South African politics in a journal edited by K. Ishwaran of the Department of Sociology at York University in Toronto (Du Toit, March 1966).

Another is by an Afrikaner who emigrated to Canada, returned to South Africa, and re-emigrated to Canada. Sociologist Jan J. Loubser (1968: 379) presented to his readers an image that is summarized in this quotation:

The failure of Afrikaner -- and white -- society to survive in South Africa will be largely the result of the ossification of these barriers of insulation that impair its generalized adaptive capacity to such an extent that it cannot cope with the exigencies of its environment.

Almost no French Canadians today are aware of the extensive correspondence between Henri Bourassa, the great leader of their separatist cause a generation ago, and Prime Minister J. B. M.

Hertzog, the champion of the Afrikaners. Space does not permit an extended discussion of the relationship between the two, which in any case has been covered in detail elsewhere (Davenport, 1963: 193-212. Still the best interpreter of Bourassa is Mason Wade's The French Canadians, 1968). However, it is interesting to note that according to T. R. H. Davenport, Henri Bourassa was moved to write to General Hertzog after reading an article on him in a Canadian newspaper. It was written by an English-born journalist who had settled in Canada and who in his article endeavored to change the Canadian view of Hertzog as "a wild, unkempt, boorish Boer who would like a chance to pick up a rifle, turn his back on the King, and suffuse the Union Jack with axle-grease." The writer (Hawkes, September 6, 1913) saw Hertzog as a "highly cultured, able lawyer, who sees things far ahead in a dry light, who appraises racial passion at its true value, and of whom more will be heard."

On a fairly limited intellectual level, as represented by these two giants, Bourassa and Hertzog, there was some feeling of common problems, especially as these related to the maintenance of a second official language besides English. The present Prime Minister of Quebec, Roubert Bourassa of the Liberal Party, said that his party's 1973 triumph over the Parti Quebecois was a clear rebuff for Canadian separatism and represented a victory of federalism over separatism. Although this does not mean that Bourassa wants to abandon French culture, clearly his supporters share few of the feelings represented by the Genootskaap vir Handhawing van Afrikaans.

A new book by Andre Laurendeau (1973) gives expression to French Canadian attitudes towards conscription in World War II, and expounds lucidly on the nationalist, but not separatist, attitudes in what Canadians refer to as the old "bleu" way, but with some of Henri Bourassa's "rouge" attitudes as well. The parallels with Afrikaners have all but broken down. The former president of an important French-Canadian bank writes (personal correspondence, January 1974): "We meet so few Afrikaners that it is difficult to form an opinion. In general we French Canadians don't concern ourselves much with the problems of South Africa. Only a few politicians, of the Diefenbaker type, still do on certain occasions. They make declarations to try to save what remains of the Commonwealth and to please our old motherland. The Boer War is almost unknown by the present generation, except for intellectuals. And except for a few rare agitators, there hasn't been any concerted sympathy movement for black South Africans."

In fact, Canada supported South Africa longer than some of its traditional allies did. One of those who wrote with anger against such Canadian policies was Douglas Anglin, in 1960 an associate professor of political science at Carleton University and later first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Zambia. In calling for strong Canadian action, Anglin (1960: 122-137) insisted that: "To expect the present rulers of South Africa to act like pragmatic Englishmen is to misread Afrikaner psychology. In their single-minded pursuit of apartheid, facts mean nothing. It is the righteousness of their cause which matters, not its hopelessness."

When a French Canadian professor asked half a dozen of his colleagues about Afrikaners, he found little knowledge and wide disinterest. He attributed this to the concentration of the Quebecois in his own provincial government. However, on probing, he discovered that there were ties. A doctor subscribed to a South African medical journal; a history professor taught about decolonization; an economist was interested in economic development in southern Africa; and a sociologist had some interest in race questions there. But on the whole, his colleagues' interests were far more stimulated by the Biafran War and by Bangladesh because of the comparisons with possible provincial autonomy or independence. Otherwise, they had "a vague idea about problems between black and white in South Africa and not between English and Afrikaner. Although in theory informed, they did not know the origins of the conflicts. They had never heard of Bourassa's relationship with Hertzog and of Afrikaner opposition to the dominance of English culture." Such ignorance about South Africa surprised this French Canadian. The lack of knowledge reflected, in his view, poor news coverage in both the French- and English-language press. A series of articles in 1966 praising "white efforts to uplift blacks," written by a French Canadian on a visit to South Africa, drew neither public support nor criticism, which also surprised the French Canadian professor (correspondence with Michel Leclerc, December 1973).

An English-speaking Canadian businessman who had visited South Africa in 1949 felt that in those days the Afrikaners and the French Canadians were alike in that both depended heavily for many of their views on their religious leaders--the dominie in South Africa and the priest in Quebec. But if this is, or was, true in South Africa, it no longer applies to French Canada, where the numbers of the faithful have dwindled and the faith of the faithful has become attenuated.

An English historian studying French-Canadian history does stress the identification of the Bourassists with the Afrikaners, stemming from Bourassa's split with Laurier over sending a Canadian contingent to fight with the British in the Boer War. But this movement died out rapidly, even though Bourassa lived until 1952 (personal correspondence, November 1974).

Has sympathy, or potential sympathy, with Afrikaners declined because of a decrease in French-Canadian radicalism? No, but the decline is related to a dramatic shift in the political orientation of the most radical French-Canadian nationalists. The militant Quebecois no longer care about the bond of Christianity. Where they were formerly on the far political right, and this included conservative Catholicism, today they are on the far political left. Thus the sympathies of the militants lie far more with the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress, just as their political alliances are with Cuba, North Vietnam, and radical Arab countries. In the view of an American political scientist now on the faculty of McGill University, this change has been pronounced since about 1960. However, militant French Canadians do not think much about the Afrikaner as an enemy; they have closer and more powerful enemies to fight, notably English Canada, the United States and France.

A French-speaking businessman wrote to me (January 1974): "It is true that Canada was in the avant garde in wanting to expel South Africa from the Commonwealth. But this was an affair of the government and, outside the government, of the far left. No doubt some French and English intellectuals were interested in the problem, just as they are interested in South Africa today. But in my circles and in the press, there just isn't much real emotion. Take the Rhodesian situation. Even with the murder of our tourists by Zambians, it doesn't stay long on the front pages. So we have difficulty in distinguishing Afrikaner from English in South Africa. Here in Quebec, we identify with our provincial situation and don't pay much attention to foreign news from anywhere. Of course, people are informed to the measure that someone informs them. But our press does not."

In university circles the interest in, and knowledge of, Afrikaners is confined to a very few, in the opinion of John Shingler, a young Canadian professor who grew up as an English-speaking South African identified with liberal causes in South Africa. His current study is on Afrikaner and Quebecois thought, but he concludes (in correspondence with me, October 1973): "While many Canadian academics might have

an opinion on Afrikaners, I doubt if they know anything at all. Only a handful like myself speak Afrikaans. And the number of universities that subscribe to Afrikaans newspapers or journals is, I suspect, none. I find no acquaintance with Afrikaner poetry or fiction, let alone social or political thought. Only a few Dutch Reformed Church adherents might have an intellectual orientation to Afrikaner thought."

Raleigh Parkin, who is an insurance executive with close ties to the English-speaking establishment in Canada, summarized his own attitude and that of his peers as he sees it (October 1973): "I was in South Africa in 1949 and then only for three months. That was before apartheid got going. To me there was never really a great difference between the English there and the Afrikaners when it came to their attitudes toward the 'Natives.' I use their term. The English didn't want to initiate what has become Afrikaner policy, but they generally have gone along with it, except for a few who have stood up and been counted along with some liberal Afrikaners."

It was not only the French Canadians who were interested in language questions. In an extensive correspondence between Sir George Parkin and Lord Milner (as quoted in the Sir George Parkin Papers) Milner said frankly: "I have no idea whatever of attempting equality of languages and I hope there will be little trouble in making English the language of Courts, Schools and Parliament, but always with a tolerance of Dutch where necessary and as long as necessary. Proscription of the Dutch would, I feel, defeat its own end." This and similar comments created an image of parallel language problems in Canada and in South Africa in the minds of Parkin and his English-language compatriots in Canada.

An English-speaking historian summed up her own attitudes this way. "We identify with the English in South Africa and think they are for FAIR PLAY. In my English-Canadian circles, we think that many English have been interned for having tried to do something about apartheid. A Canadian girl I know married an Afrikaner in this country, and later went to South Africa to visit her in-laws. She was horrified by the attitudes of her Dutch Reformed Church father-in-law, and so was I. We definitely distinguished between the Boers as the bad guys and the English as the good guys. We knew that some English South Africans are bigoted--I found this out when I met a cousin who is an executive in a diamond concern in South Africa--but our stereo-type of good English and bad Afrikaners is fairly standard."

Some English-speaking Canadians feel that Diefenbaker's hostility toward South Africa was a result of his early involvement with civil rights in Canada, for which he campaigned for many years. As Peter Harnetty (November 1963: 43) points out, "When the question of South Africa's continued membership came up at the 1961 Commonwealth meeting, Mr. Diefenbaker took the lead in linking it with the issue of South Africa's racial policy." Occasionally, Canadians discussing Afrikaner policies bring up Canadian failings in race relations. Even Diefenbaker, in a reply to an attack by Lester Pearson, acknowledged in Parliament that "no country is perfect," and cited the treatment of Japanese Canadians in World War II.

A Canadian anthropologist teaching in a Quebec university offers the opinion that Canadian foreign policy with respect to southern Africa is based on holier-than-thou attitudes. He also remarks that outrage over the shooting of miners at Carletonville in South Africa passed fairly quickly. More recently, the brouhaha over black immigration from the West Indies and a certain amount of violence in eastern Canadian cities has introduced black/white confrontation into Canada in a new and much sharper way. But these troubles and the reports of black crime waves have not led to any significant support for what are conceived to be Afrikaner values. Rather, those who condemn an Afrikaner government also condemn racism in Canada wherever it may exist. As a South African publisher (Urquhart, April 1965: 43-4) complained in an anti-South African magazine after a visit to Canada, "To a South African the Canadians' lack of concern for events in South Africa is disappointing. South Africa is a very long way away...." He went on to say that "the latent force of mass Canadian feeling against apartheid must be harnessed" before Canada takes a stronger stand. Even though Canadians have toyed with, rather than embraced, some form of territorial division (a Frenchstan?), an English Canadian said he thought the talk has lessened. But he pointed out that in his opinion Canadians assimilate a little more slowly than Americans do, and that into the second generation they remain Belgian Canadians, Portuguese Canadians, Italian Canadians, and so on.

An unbalanced view may be created in South Africa by a handful of Canadians who appear not to represent many of their countrymen, but who hold strong opinions in support of the "white man." An example is a letter writer from New Brunswick who wrote to the Rhodesia Herald (as quoted in Rhodesian Commentary, November 1973): "Let it be known that friends [in]... Her Majesty's Dominion of Canada will continue the fight to present the facts to the Canadian people.... Let

it be known that there are thousands of Canadians who believe in supporting their kith and kin... , [who] know the strategic importance of Southern Africa... , [and who] know that the Zambezi is the dividing line between stability and chaos."

Canadian attitudes are primarily those of ignorance regarding South Africa and the Afrikaner. French Canadians, who might have been expected to feel an affinity with Afrikaners for historical reasons or because of Quebec separatism, are also ill informed and disinterested. They would be strongly hostile to Afrikaners if the issue of apartheid were pointedly raised, in sharp contrast to the activist links with Afrikaners that existed in previous generations.

UNITED STATES

"So you have been living among the Afrikaners," President Harry S. Truman said. "They must be a fine people. General Smuts and I started the United Nations together." This remark, made during an interview in Lawrence, Kansas (1956), had its quota of the usual Truman hyperbole and dogmatism. But the ex-President went on modestly to disclaim much knowledge of South Africa; he told me that the circumstances must be very complicated and that he did not trust all he read. However, he knew more than most Americans.

In the 19th century American ships brought frequent visitors to Cape Town and Durban, but this does not mean they had contact with Boers. A handful of American missionaries worked in areas away from the ports, and reported mixed reactions, as these few quotations from their letters (Kotze, 1950: 70, 167, 215) suggest:

The Boers along the road were generally friendly and sometimes very kind.

Everyone under the influence of a martial spirit must exclaim, How gallant their [the Boers'] determination!

God is making use of them [the Boers] as scourges of the natives; and perhaps when they shall have accomplished this, they will be mutual scourges of each other. Their ignorance, their parties, their ungodliness, make it improbable that they can unite in any good form of government. Far less are they prepared for independence than the worst of the South American States.

But American knowledge of Afrikaners really dates from the time of the "Boer War," as it was called. The American enthusiasm for Commandos who battled the British is well known.³ Interest was great at all levels. An eight-year-old nephew of then Secretary of State Lansing published a brief account (Dulles, 1902) in which he concluded: "The Boers are very industrious and are hard workers and are very fond of the Bible.... They love their country especially and ought to have it in spite of the wicked English who are trying to rob them of it.... I hope the Boers win...."⁴

Franklin D. Roosevelt took his first significant political step in May 1902, after he and two other Harvard undergraduates had listened to Boer visitors excoriate the British. They collected \$236 for a Boer Relief Fund which they sent to Cape Town (Freidel, 1952). But as personal correspondence during World War II between President Roosevelt and his Minister in Cape Town reveals (Seiler, 1972: 18), the later image of the Afrikaner provided for FDR was more that of the British, including the envoy's characterization, "Of all men on earth, I doubt if any is more unreasonable and stiff necked than the typical Boer, even with his traditional courage...."

The widespread support in America for the Boers was indicated by the resolution submitted before the House of Representatives to invite President Paul Kruger to come "as a guest of the country" and to provide \$25,000 for his entertainment. President Theodore Roosevelt had an appointment for discussing inviting the Boer leader when the war ended. Professor John Ferguson (1939:221), author of the best account of U.S. -Boer relations, concluded that Secretary of State John Hays' policy of not hurting England had incalculable meaning for the British Empire, "but for the Boers it assured the complete annihilation of their independence."⁵

Black Americans reacted negatively toward Afrikaners after the John Ross incident in 1893 when a Boer policeman punished Ross, an American Negro, without benefit of judicial procedure. The United States Department of State backed Ross' claim for \$10,000 in damages and followed up the matter with Dr. Leyds in Lydenburg District, where the incident occurred.⁶ Thus when the black American Bishop Henry M. Turner told that "since President Cleveland made the Boers pay ...for beating some Black American...no trouble has been had with them since." Bishop Turner noted that black Americans were accorded the status of Boers and other whites in the South African Republic, and when he was received personally by President Paul Kruger he was

told that he was the first black man that Kruger had even shaken hands with.⁷

An increasing number of academic interpreters of South African history and politics in the United States were themselves born on the continent of Africa. Most are Nigerians, but the number of Ghanaians, Kenyans, and South Africans is also growing. Commenting on the Ross incident and the visit of Bishop Turner to the South African Republic, Professor Clement Tsehloane Keto, who is originally from East Griqualand, told the African Studies Association: "It is important to realize that while the present honorary white status in South Africa for Black Americans has been used as an example of a breakthrough in Afrikaner thinking by propaganda organizations such as the South African Foundation, the status is in fact an octogenarian practice resurrected to serve the political exigencies of the second South African Republic."

In evaluating attitudes toward Afrikaners, one must distinguish between the tiny knowledgeable minority and those who have what Americans refer to as a "gut" reaction. One illustration of this difference took place in the largest, and possibly the best, African Studies Department in the world. Three black American secretaries were working in the outer office one day when a handsome young Afrikaner, whose accent they took to be British, came in seeking information. Before he left some good-natured banter had been exchanged as well as information. Later a white researcher in the Department told the black girls that the visitor was an Afrikaner. Immediately, there was an angry reaction. One of the girls declared, "If we had known he was an Afrikaner, we wouldn't even have talked to him." In contrast, perhaps the ablest Ph.D. student then in the Department was a black American interested in South Africa, who had a reputation for militancy, but who welcomed the chance to have a private dinner with a group of Afrikaners representing the South African government.

The black American has a stereotype of Afrikaners as being evil, which is, perhaps, no more stereotypic than Afrikaner views of black Americans. But in the last decade hundreds of black Americans have visited South Africa, resulting in a modification of the stereotype. Roy Wilkins, longtime head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told my students that Dr. Xuma, who had been a close friend at the University of Minnesota, had taught him to distinguish between the white groups in South Africa and the white individuals.

Since then Wilkins visited South Africa and has made perceptive observations.

Whites in the Old South identified with Afrikaners as a non-industrial, God-fearing, courageous but vanquished people who were faced by a fearful black problem and berated by the world. Hodding Carter told this to me when the Pulitzer Prize winning Mississippi editor lived in Cape Town in 1959. Carter was a liberal symbol often threatened by the Ku Klux Klan. He did not see any resemblance between the Afrikaners he met and the old southern racists.

In the New South where George Wallace can kiss black beauty queens and be supported by black mayors, there is a positive atmosphere among the few who know South Africa. As the southern historian C. Vann Woodward has observed, "So far as their culture is concerned, all Americans are part Negro." Perhaps there has been too much sensationalism about President Paul Kruger's Coloured ancestry and the biological ties between the Afrikaners and the Coloured people (see for example Botha, April 1972), while too little emphasis was placed on the black cultural experience which has impacted upon both Afrikaners and Americans, and may constitute a greater commonality than racism.

The Jewish sub-group in the U.S. is probably second to blacks in holding a poor image of Afrikaners. Specific knowledge of Afrikaners or of Jews in South Africa is rare. Well into a conversation, the comment, in a guilty tone, is often made, "I have some relatives there--distant cousins." Afrikaners are considered as illiberal and probably worse to the blacks than to the Jewish cousins. This idea is accompanied by a vague apprehension of some sort of a New Reich. But among active Zionists there is quick appreciation for what Afrikaner governments have done for Israel.

Current Jewish-black tensions, especially in New York, sometimes introduce South Africa into discussions. Nat Hentoff (1969:xvi) answers the question of whether more is expected of Jews by saying that it depends upon whether Jews define themselves in the Prophetic tradition or in the tradition of the South African Jewish community. Weisbord and Stein (1970: 217) conclude that American Jews have less excuse than South African Jews for not following the Prophetic tradition, but still criticize Jewish leaders in South Africa for not challenging the "nefarious apartheid system."

An insight into American attitudes toward Afrikaners is how Afrikaans visitors feel they are received. In the preparation for this paper, I asked more than a hundred South African visitors to the United States for their reactions. The overwhelming consensus is that, except for a small percentage, Americans do not make distinctions among white South Africans. Paradoxically, there may be fewer Americans who know about Afrikaners today than there were seventy-five years ago.

A recent Afrikaans-speaking visitor to the United States concluded that the majority of Americans he and his wife met had no preconceived ideas about English or Afrikaans; those who knew the distinction exhibited no difference in attitude, though a few seemed surprised that an Afrikaans-speaking couple could be as much at ease in America as an English couple would be. In the few instances where black Americans refused to see the couple, it was fairly clear that the objection was not to Afrikaners but to white South Africans (according to correspondence with Pieter Duminy, July 1973). A large number of visitors report that they are seldom or never asked which white group they belong to. It is not clear whether those they meet know the difference or, as sometimes happens, know and see no need to ask, or, possibly, know but feel the difference is not important. This is true of both English- and Afrikaans-speaking visitors.

One of the few visitors who reported that the question of language group was frequently asked had special characteristics. First, she has a Huguenot name that sounds neither English nor Afrikaans; second, she speaks articulately in English; third, she supports the South African government on many issues; and fourth, she met primarily people in the newspaper and television media. Apparently the Americans reasoned that if she didn't denounce the government she must be an Afrikaner.

There is a stereotype among knowledgeable Americans which assumes that all English agree on how bad an Afrikaner government may be and that all Afrikaners support it. In circles that should know better, the stereotype is simply the broad one that all black South Africans are good and all white South Africans are bad. A classic story about M. P. Helen Suzman is pertinent here. When she spoke before a seminar on Africa at Columbia University she was so heckled for being a white South African that she finally exclaimed: "I'm not really a Nazi, I'm just a little Jewish girl from Johannesburg!" Comparable stories derive from instances when black leaders such as Gatsha Buthelezi and Lucas Mangope have spoken in favor of some government

policies. In 1973, in St. Louis, a black American, who had heard a Coloured poet in exile from South Africa denounce Buthelezi in vile terms for cooperating with an Afrikaner government, was picketing a speech by the Zulu leader. Finally the black American saw Buthelezi for the first time when the Zulu left the hall, whereupon the black American is reported to have turned to the Coloured leader and said, "Why, he is blacker than you are."

Young Afrikaners and young Americans can be seen as similar in terms of sports, the outdoors, and, in rural America, church activities. But this view may be less accurate than an opposing one. A psychological test was given to Korean students at Seoul University, to American students at Ohio State University, and to Afrikaans students at Pretoria University. The text concerned moral codes, from forging checks to religious issues to having sex while unmarried. The results indicated that the Afrikaans and Korean students did not differ significantly in their conservatism, but that the Americans differed from both in having less stringent views (Viljoen and Grobler, February 1972: 187-89). Conversations with a wide range of American students give no indication that those who know about Afrikaners and who hold negative opinions of them are at all aware of a difference in conservative outlook.

American images of Afrikaners are difficult to differentiate from the images of white South Africans. But there are times when distinctions are drawn. I have already mentioned that among the few comments favorable to Afrikaners have been some by Alan Paton in the New York Times Magazine. Perhaps the most favorable account to appear in this newspaper, which is so important in forming public opinion, was by a Times correspondent, Joseph Lelyveld, who wrote highly critical reports while a resident in South Africa, but later was more sympathetic in a feature article entitled, "The Afrikaner Feels Lonely in the World" (February 6, 1966).⁸ The color photograph on the cover of the magazine showed a handsome farmer with wide-brimmed hat and sun wrinkles around the eyes, but the picture also had a dour quality, since the eyes were narrowed to slits. Despite his strong anti-government antipathy, the author had positive thoughts of the Afrikaner, as witness this passage:

An American arriving in South Africa quickly feels drawn to the Afrikaner for his boundless vitality, which is often found together with a humorous, speculative nature, capable of indulging himself to all hours of the night, over a variety of

fine fruit brandies, in talk of ultimate things. A few of these talks are enough to convince you of the fatuousness of most generalizations about a whole people. This is because generalizations about Afrikaners often don't fit. And it's because Afrikaners--forgive the generalization--are so given to generalizing about others. ('The black man never thinks about tomorrow,' you'll be told as if this were a matter of scientific fact. 'He thinks only of today. That's why nothing bothers him. And that's why he hasn't progressed to our level.')

The American scientific world is of two minds about Afrikaners. On the one hand there is an insistence on scientists being included in professional meetings regardless of national origins. The National Academy of Sciences has made strenuous efforts to keep Afrikaners (and white South Africans) on international boards and committees and to have them accepted at international conferences (conversation with Dr. Harrison Brown, Foreign Secretary of the National Academy of Sciences, March 1973). Not surprisingly, American scientists have not been able to persuade (and today probably would not try to persuade) Soviet scientists to attend international meetings in South Africa.⁹

Daniel Greenberg, one of the leading science writers in the United States, was less than sympathetic with the Afrikaans language struggle when he wrote (July 10, 1970a): "Afrikaans, being a Dutch derivative, is piously cultivated, and in Afrikaner universities it is as much the language of instruction and daily conversation as is French in French universities." Another long article by Greenberg (July 11, 1970b) discussing South African universities, ended with the following anecdote: "On an extremely sunny day, we passed a tattered looking black, who was wearing sunglasses. My companion (a South African graduate) said, 'Look at that silly bugger. His ancestors were out in the sun for millions of years and he has to wear sunglasses.'" This type of anecdote may be colorful writing, but apparently they are intended to create the most negative of feelings in the readers of a distinguished journal.

It is doubtful if Afrikaners as a people have ever been favorably presented on American television. One of the most widely viewed programs was narrated by Walter Cronkite in the series "CBS Reports" and dealt with "Sabotage in South Africa." An idea of its tone can be gleaned from these quotations, which are excerpts from the script of the program which was televised over the Columbia Broadcasting System network on December 19, 1962: "Apartheid is absolute and its

policies are enforced at all levels." "Rebecca West said, 'I've never seen a country so low as this one. It's like a country being governed by mad babies.'" "[Trains with mine workers] unload cheap cargoes of human labor." "Hoodlums of the Nationalist Party...young toughs."

The all-time blockbuster American television program on Africa was the American Broadcasting Company's four-hour special in 1967 (see E. S. Munger's "Africa in 240 Minutes," Africa Report (Washington), October, 1967a, pp. 67-70, for the review on which this paragraph is based). South Africa received thirty-five minutes. ABC-TV press releases immodestly described this segment as "undoubtedly the most in-depth study of South Africa...ever filmed." No verlig Afrikaans businessmen were interviewed, no young Afrikaner men or attractive girls. The Afrikaans age structure as shown on the screen suggested a country inhabited almost entirely by senior citizens. Scene after scene emphasized the photogenic qualities of the patriarchal Bible-quoting men and women with the most verkramp views. A long statement by Gary Player advocating that South Africa look north was edited out in the final stages. No wonder the South African Ambassador criticized the dour image for the way it "belittles South Africa's efforts in dealing with complex human problems." According to the Trendex survey, one-half of all television viewers in the United States saw at least part of the program.

Of the many anti-Afrikaans references in magazines and newspapers and on television, these few have been selected because of the millions of people they reached. The images of the Afrikaner they reflect are not really divergent at the mass level; essentially they are negative.

In forming the American image of the Afrikaner, the degree of coverage by regular correspondents of the press and news magazines is a major factor. In 1955 I wrote that, "It was not until recent years that American papers began continuous coverage of sub-Saharan Africa. No South African newspaper does the same for America" (Munger, July 1955: 30-34). This is no longer true. South African coverage of the American scene has increased, and regrettably United States coverage of South Africa has declined. Part of the reason for this last is the barring by South Africans from time to time of journalists from the two most important newspaper syndicates, those headed by the New York Times and by the Los Angeles Times/Washington Post, which between them represent some 400 American newspapers. Of course, it can be argued that if these syndicates had had permanent correspondents in South Africa, Americans would have read more about Afrikaners but most of it would have been unfavorable.

Literary movements such as the sestigers are as unknown in America as are Hungarian poets in the Karoo. Although there is some perception of the high quality of Afrikaans poetry in the Netherlands, the fact that Coloured poets can and do win Afrikaans literary prizes is not only not known but probably would not be believed in America. I do not mean to imply that absolutely nothing is ever written or discussed regarding Afrikaans literature. A one-page report on the sestigers by Stanley Meisler (May 13, 1968: 625) entitled "Telling It In Afrikaans," was published in a political weekly. Another article (Tucker, February 1965: 13) describes the literary "paranoia" about the "racial virus" but refers also to the "valuable Afrikaans cultural scene."

Among the academic community there is more diversity of views, though in general most writing is done by Africanists and they are overwhelmingly critical of the policies of an Afrikaner-elected government. The American Political Science Review published a thoughtful nonpolemic account of Afrikaner political institutions and social structures written by an English-speaking South African, Stanley Trapido (March 1963: 75-87). And one of the most sympathetic and scholarly portrayers of the Afrikaner has been Edward A Tiryakian, who has been a professor of sociology at both Harvard and Duke Universities.¹⁰

Perhaps the sharpest critic of Afrikaners is Professor Pierre Van den Berghe of the University of Washington. In one article (January 1966: 43-49) Van den Berghe begins by characterizing the military tradition of the "Boers" as "one of ununiformed, ill-disciplined, individualistic, egalitarian, amateurish partisan bands." After chastizing the English for giving in to Afrikaner Nationalism and describing the United Party as "nothing more than the anachronistic, Victorian, racist representative of English nationalism in South Africa," he forecasts that, in effect, Afrikaner opinion has "doomed the country to political fossilization into an archaic albinocracy."

The more charitable views of the Afrikaner character one hears from Americans do not often appear in print in the United States. A more characteristic reaction, by a black American who does not himself countenance any form of racial discrimination but who has made repeated visits to South Africa, is this: "The Afrikaner is basically agrarian; he loves the land and in part resisted industrialization. He sincerely believes that South Africa is his and he has the right to fence it off as if it were a farm, and to separate everyone else from it. It is a deep feeling, quite understandable even if it is unacceptable."¹¹

On the question of who came first to South Africa, he says that the Afrikaner "reasons that his stake is as valid as the American one over the Indian and has existed almost as long."

Dr. George Kennan, the sagacious American diplomat and historical scholar, points out that the world often approaches South Africa with a double standard, and perhaps expects more of Afrikaners than of most people. After visiting South West Africa, Kennan reported (March 1971:6):

[We] became acquainted, in a degree which the earlier journey had not permitted, with persons of Afrikaner origins and viewpoints. We came away with a much better understanding of the depth and complexity of the Afrikaner experience; and while we remained aware of what seemed to us certain real blind spots in the Afrikaner appreciation of racial problems, we were moved and impressed by the personal qualities of the people we met: by their warmth of character, their generous hospitality, their deep religious sincerity, their keen sense of humor, and their vigor and competence in the development of this vast and interesting territory.

The liveliest American commentator on the political right is William F. Buckley, Jr. During a fortnight's visit to South Africa in 1962, he acidly observed in a newspaper column entitled "Letter from Cape Town"¹²:

The English moralists let Smuts quite alone when he, who had that wonderful knack of giving out liberal vibrations, was boss in South Africa, yet Smuts did less for the natives, in concrete terms, than his Boer successors. Can the American critics understand what the feeling is under the skin of a people who live just a few hundred miles south of a roaring black nationalism which seems to have its pogromatic way all over the continent, even that part of it which a Dutchman settled the very year that Peter Stuyvesant settled in the island of Manhattan?

Although I have often written about Afrikaners (see, for example, Afrikaner and African Nationalism (London: Oxford University Press, 1967b) or "South Africa: Are There Silver Linings?" Foreign Affairs, January 1969: 16-21a), I would like to quote one comment, which appeared in 1958 in the most prestigious American publication on international issues (Munger in Foreign Affairs, July 1958: 659-668):

The Afrikaans-speaking people have matured and found themselves in the past decade, casting off their long-standing bitterness and sense of inferiority. The traditional and usually justified complaints against language discrimination have been mostly resolved in favor of Afrikaans. Bars against Afrikaners in the civil service and business have eliminated or lowered. The political landslide at the polls solidly confirms the new position of the Afrikaners.... Afrikaners are a devout people who cherish their individual liberty and have a greater respect for the law than, say, Americans. This picture is not consistent with most images of Afrikanerdom presented outside South Africa in recent years.

Another not uncritical, but without being tendentious, American academic concerned with Afrikaners is Professor Newell Stultz of Brown University. Dr. Stultz's most recent study (in press) concerns Afrikaner politics before the victory of the National Party in 1948 and is an objective and scholarly work.

Where, one may ask, is the voice of conservative Americans in the Middle West and in such well known centers of conservative Republican thought as Orange County, California? Very little is published about Afrikaners in such quarters, and in what does appear, the level of understanding is low. But the view of many Afrikaners that if foreigners only knew South Africa better, they would think better of Afrikaners is occasionally echoed by conservative circles abroad. General James Doolittle, who led the famous American bomber raid on Tokyo early in World War II, told me how much he liked Afrikaners after his visit to the Republic. On November 17, 1966, he addressed a large audience at a meeting of the Los Angeles World Affairs Council and said, among other things:

I am sure that if the Free World were better informed--and considered the problems and proposed solutions rationally rather than emotionally--they would be far more inclined to be sympathetic and more willing to let South Africa at least try her solution even though they might not be in agreement with it.

What we do find in America are people and publications that advance various doctrines of racial superiority for white people, or that claim racial inferiority for black people. There is also the professionally active anti-Communist community. Both groups have, in a sense, a

favorable image of the Afrikaner, but for essentially negative reasons. They see Afrikaners as (a) not bent on "mongrelizing the races," and as (b) not part of a "liberal" cabal in which Wall Street and such prominent Republicans as Nelson Rockefeller and Richard Nixon are engaged in secret machinations to overthrow the capitalist system in favor of "Godless Communism." But the image is as much a cardboard one as that presented to the party faithful in Eastern Europe at the other end of the political spectrum.

Between the broad extremes in America there are some groups which see the Afrikaner favorably without emphasizing either racism or anti-Communism. The League of Men Voters in California is not as strong or prestigious as the League of Women Voters, but it takes a favorable view of Afrikaners and has opposed legislation that seeks to bar American companies operating in South Africa from doing business with the State of California (Lott, April-May 1973).

As this article has repeatedly suggested, hostility to South Africa is not necessarily indicative of antipathy toward Afrikaners, or vice versa. But in the making of a public image in which most concerned Americans are cognizant of the fact that South African M. P. s are elected by Afrikaans voters, there is a rough overlap between anti-South African and anti-Afrikaans feeling. Whatever the actual public views at the grass roots level in the United States, the balance of testimony given at Congressional hearings on South Africa is of interest.

The most recently published hearings (March, April, and July 1973, released in February 1974) comprise Part III of the Subcommittee on Africa of the House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs of the 93rd Congress. The hearings deal with "United States Business Involvement in Southern Africa." The printed record covers 1073 pages. Witnesses appeared on seventeen occasions between March 27 and July 13, 1973. On the basis of the testimony, sixteen of the witnesses may be categorized as anti-South African; one expressed opinions both for and against.¹³ Of the 54 Statements and Memoranda, 53 oppose United States business involvement in South Africa or contain data requested by those hostile to such involvement. More than 80 percent of the document is devoted to 84 appendices, and of these every one is either anti-South African or arises from hostile inquiries.

This apparent imbalance can have at least two interpretations. One, obviously, is that the anti-South African (and, clearly, the anti-Afrikaans) forces overwhelmingly predominate in the United States.

The other is that the arguments for South Africa, or at least those divided on the issue, are so weak that they "deserve" at most only four pages in a document of more than a thousand. Although this is a crude measurement of opinion, it may help to explain to interested readers why there are such strong anti-South African and anti-Afrikaans attitudes in the United States (albeit the proceedings of the Congress are not likely to appear on the best-seller list!). Anti-government English-speaking South Africans often testify on pending American legislation against conditions in South Africa. But I can find no evidence of an Afrikaner who supports the policies of the National Party having been invited to testify.

As the material presented suggests, American ideas about Afrikaners focus heavily on matters of race. It seems to me that in the northern United States thinking on race has matured rather dramatically between the 1950s and the 1970s. Gone are the simplistic caveats that justice is inextricably bound up with an immediate homogenization of all value systems. The liberal American used to be glibly confident that whatever the problems of desegregation for reactionary southern whites, the paradigm for racial justice in South Africa must be found in America.

But Afrikaners are so poorly known that even drastic changes in American race relations do not have much impact on American attitudes. When South Africa's Minister of Interior, an Afrikaner, spoke in California in 1974 to a cross section of the political and social elite, he did not come across as an Afrikaner, even though the host introduced him in Afrikaans for several minutes. Rather, he was viewed as a white South African. After his talk there was grudging admission from some listeners and praise from others on how well the Afrikaner leader had handled difficult questions. For example, in reply to criticism concerning the division of a Homeland into five parts, he pointed out that the United States could also be divided into five parts--the mainland, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands--and that these parts are farther separated from one another than the Homeland segments are.

The extent to which some Afrikaner solutions to South Africa's racial problems are finding parallels in the United States is extraordinary. Hawaii is probably, and rightly, considered the best integrated and least racist of American states, but in 1973 many observers were astonished when state senator Nadao Yoshinga introduced a resolution in which he stated that "Hawaii is faced with a major problem of too rapid in-migration resulting in the overload of our government facilities and services," and that consequently there should be regulations (influx

control?) on "interstate migration policies and regulations such that no area, region, state, or city will be overextended as to its capacity to provide decent housing and municipal facilities" (Hawaii, Senate Resolution 31, April 12, 1972. See also Gallagher, 1973).

On the national level, efforts to repeal the Emergency Detention Act of 1950 have had little success. This Act, which stressed the danger of "World Communism," was introduced by a group of liberal Senators (Kilgore, Douglas, Humphrey, Lehman, Graham, Kefauver, and Benton) and was passed shortly after the invasion of South Korea by the Communist forces of North Korea. It was preferred by Congress to the Mundt-Nixon Bill, which also provided for the setting up of camps and the detention of American citizens suspected of actions against the state. Wholesale detention of Japanese had been resorted to by the Americans in World War II, before legislation existed. At that time former Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren was Governor of California, the state where most of the Americans of Japanese ancestry were seized. Yet two of the strongest criticisms voiced in liberal American circles about Afrikaners is that their government detains people without trial, and that its influx-control measures cruelly restrict internal African migration. Occasionally one hears cited the laws in the Orange Free State, the Cape, and the Transvaal that make it difficult or impossible for South Africans of Indian origin to migrate within the Republic. All this is not to say that such critics of Afrikaner government are hypocritical, for most of them would oppose the laws on the American statute books. But the implications of a double standard are certainly not recognized (see, for example, the Hearings before Subcommittee 3 of the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives, 92nd Congress, regarding H. R. 234 and Related Bills, entitled "Prohibiting Detention Camps" Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1972).

The American image of the Afrikaner is not good but it is less than malefic. I have commented on the image-creating media such as the national press, television, and academic publications. South African officials and government publications try to present a more favorable image of an Afrikaner government. The South African policy dilemma is this: If there is a raising of American political consciousness regarding the Afrikaner, will those who are favorably influenced moderate possible United States actions, or will the passive poor image translate into active hostility? Conversely, the policy of South African critics in America (many of them South African by origin, both black and white) to raise consciousness may boomerang if specific actions are

involved. The Viet Nam war made many Americans far more politically conscious and aware of moral issues. At the same time, it has created a distrust of foreign adventures and of attempts to make a world in the American image, or at least to accept a Pax Americana. I have spoken of the Afrikaner image deliberately, because there is a world of difference between not liking something and doing something about it.

The reason that the American image of the Afrikaner focuses so heavily on race is obviously the preoccupation with domestic racial tensions. But there is another dimension. Analogies are drawn between Afrikaner and American expansion from their respective seaboards. However, the motivations were quite different, and this means that few Americans are easily drawn to empathize with Afrikaners on historical lines. If the Afrikaner trekked for motivations which were largely designed to get him away from British regulations and government (including cultural domination and relations with the indigenous people), the American went West not to escape from government but to extend the American domain. Restless mobility is a deep-grained part of the American character, different, perhaps, from the movement of the proverbial Boer who trekked on when he could see the smoke of his neighbor's farmhouse. Even after the American frontier was settled, the westward flow continued, at least until 1970. There was a feeling of destiny. Horace Greeley's famous adage, "Go West, young man," continued with "and grow up with the country."

All of this created a buoyant, if not arrogant, spirit which led some chauvinists to speak of the 20th century as the American Century, and which contributed to the simplistic vision of good race relations that so many Americans held up as a mirror to South Africa after World War II. Today the mirror has been clouded by the strong movements toward ethnic identity--and sometimes ethnic separation--of Americans of many origins, including Chicanos, Indians, and blacks. The American melting pot is no longer the antithesis of a South African pressure cooker.

THE NETHERLANDS

The Europeans might be expected to know the most about, and perhaps feel most warmly toward, the Afrikaner. They provided the three national groups out of which the Afrikaner was forged--Dutch, German, and French, in almost equal proportions. The mixture is not generally recognized in Europe or in the world, where the Dutch element is emphasized. Moreover, with intermarriage in this century, the

British contribution to the make-up of the Afrikaner may well be approaching that of the original three European streams.

The European tie through emigrants has continued, though with a changed national emphasis. A principal source of white immigrants to South Africa in recent years has been Portugal. Also, the rapid increase in the number of Italian immigrants has been noticeable in South Africa, as in Australia, because of their apparent tendency to concentrate in the cities or in particular areas. Again, the difficulty of attempting to generalize about attitudes toward Afrikaners in a few pages must be stressed.

Afrikaners encounter a wide gamut of reactions in the Netherlands, but in general those who support the National Party have learned to be disappointed if they expect much succor from their kith and kin. There is a deep ambivalence in the Netherlands toward Afrikaners and toward Separate Development. Those who oppose them are perhaps the most vehement in their criticisms of any white group or any country. The very closeness of Afrikaans to Dutch, and the cultural similarities that persist, sometimes drive Dutch critics of Afrikaner politics to excess. At international conferences dealing with Africa, Dutch delegates have been known to greet another delegate with an expression such as, "I'm Dutch and I hate apartheid."

Part of the ambivalence and some of the deep-seated feelings arise from World War II. The Netherlands fell quickly and with relatively little fighting. More than 25,000 Dutch males answered the Nazi call to join in the fight against Soviet Communism on the eastern front, the highest percentage in any occupied country to do so. On the other hand, the Dutch underground was one of the most determined in occupied Europe, in sharp contrast, for example, with that of the Belgians. Dutch municipal workers struck against German orders and there were widespread efforts to protect fellow citizens of Jewish origin. In spite of these efforts, the fate of the Dutch Jews was worse than that of Jews in France, Belgium, and Italy, though less grim than in Poland. Today, the Dutch stand against the Arab oil boycott may be seen as stubbornness, or as support for Israel, or as a national conviction that a nation must stand on principle. Yet the ambivalence toward the Afrikaner remains.

Race is an issue in the Netherlands perhaps more than in any other nation in Europe. The long association with what is now Indonesia, the thousands of Dutch citizens today who have Indonesian ancestry, and the more recent and controversial black immigration from Surinam into a

crowded country, all have created a sensitivity to racial issues. When the Dutch warship Holland visited Cape Town some years ago, questions were raised in the Dutch legislature and a Socialist member charged that the Dutch Navy had substituted white-skinned for dark-skinned sailors before the visit.

The principal roots of Dutch criticism of an Afrikaner-elected government date only from the 1950s. At the time of the Separate Universities legislation, an international committee that was being formed to oppose it found difficulty in enlisting scientists from the Netherlands as members. Finally, Professor Warner T. Hoiter of the School of Engineering of the University of Delft agreed to write a position paper and to participate. After a conference in London, there was a movement to send him to South Africa to "reason" with the Afrikaners. When he declined on the grounds that as an engineer he was not qualified for such a mission, Professor Johan H. Bavinck of the Free University of Amsterdam took Hoiter's place and in subsequent years was the prime force in politicizing Dutch theologians and intellectuals with respect to Afrikaner political views.

Professor Hoiter remains critical of Afrikaner views on race. In looking at Afrikaners today, he offered the following comments during an interview (February 1974):

One cannot avoid having some sympathy with the Afrikaners. They have had a hard and restrictive life. Britain ran all over them for a while. It is not right, but we Dutch tend to look down on Afrikaners in a cultural sense. They have been very isolated. We are not free of racial prejudice but we try to fight it. There is prejudice against the Surinamese immigrants and against those from the Antilles. But it is not really racial prejudice, it is cultural, because they come from poor environments and are not educated. It is true that some Dutchmen are anxious to have Surinam given independence so that the flow of immigrants can be restricted. In the past there has been a slight stigma in the best families against intermarriage with Indonesians. In the 1950s there was a division among the Dutch on apartheid, and the policy then had strong defenders. No serious group defends it today. There are businessmen and cultural groups who are sympathetic to the Afrikaner, but not to discrimination. Our ambiguity towards the Afrikaner continues. We are reluctant to take a stand as strong as our feelings. We Dutch still remember the fight of the Boers and we were very anti-English at that time. Of course, the whole idea of protests is fairly recent. When I led

an extremely strong protest against the ex-Nazi General Speidel being made head of NATO, many of my colleagues thought it unseemly.

The ambivalence can be seen in relations between the Dutch and Afrikaans communities in South Africa, which I have discussed in "In Dutch with the Dutch" (1961: 471-78). Dutch in South Africa who are pro-Afrikaans (or pro-Afrikaner Nationalism) and who are against the present Dutch government sometimes express their support on grounds that are ideological rather than racial. For instance, support has been given to the Southern Cross Fund with an anti-Communist motivation. A group of Hollanders in Vereeniging gave 750 Rand to "dissociate themselves from Holland's support of terrorist activities against South Africa," and to show that they are "on South Africa's side in the struggle against Communism." Tension also exists between the Dutch who have settled in South Africa since World War II and the Dutch in the Netherlands. Indeed, emigration to South Africa has been a strong issue with some Dutch politicians.

A consensus of Dutch views on Afrikaners is unlikely, though the consensus against any form of racial discrimination is strong. One does hear criticism of the Afrikaans churches, and not just from the 40 percent of Hollanders who are Catholic. As a question of conscience, major elements in the Calvinist churches feel compelled to be in the vanguard in criticizing an Afrikaner government and in hammering away at forums such as the World Council of Churches. Hollanders who admire some or all Afrikaner characteristics are not nearly as articulate as the critics, and criticism outweighs praise by a wide margin in Dutch newspapers and periodicals. But there is clearly a large section of the Dutch who do have warm feelings, though they usually express them in private. It has been fashionable for a long time to attack South Africa and even to denigrate the obvious cultural ties with Afrikaners.

The most active pro-Afrikaner organization in the country is the Nederlandse Zuidafrikaanse Werkgemeenschap, which was founded in 1963 and issues publications of various kinds. Politically, it strongly supports the South African government. Cultural contacts are bolstered by the Nederlands-Zuid-Afrikaansche Vereniging, founded in 1881, and the more recent Zuid-Afrikaansche Stichting Moederland. Some of the Dutch who sympathize with Afrikaners express their politics in other forms. One line of argument is that Holland wants no enemies and that the business of Holland is to be tolerant--even, some say, of intolerance.

Still, when one considers the ties between most European countries and their former colonial possessions, especially those to which there was heavy emigration, the lack of rapport between Holland and its only daughter colony (in the cultural sense) is the more striking.

In many ways, English-speaking South Africans may find a warmer welcome in the Netherlands than Afrikaners do, since there is not the intra-ethnic tension. Language is not much of a barrier with the Dutch, who are probably the best English-speakers on the continent. A South African diplomat (English-speaking) told me that in dealing with the Hollanders he had distinct advantages over his Afrikaans-speaking colleagues, especially where political consciousness was concerned.

Yet the Dutch ambivalence keeps recurring. It was summed up somewhat sarcastically by Kenneth W. Grundy, a Dutch-speaking American, in an analysis of Dutch policy toward South Africa since World War II entitled, "We're Against Apartheid, But... Dutch Policy Towards South Africa."¹⁴ Grundy traces a decline in official and cultural relationships over thirty years, and particularly since the inception of the Den Uyl government, which was sworn in in May 1973. Grundy, who is anti-South African, acknowledges that of the twelve largest political parties in the Netherlands, only four actively support liberation groups, and that "clearly they do not speak for a majority of the electorate."

The anti-South African movements--especially strong in Holland since 1960, when most of them were formed--rarely criticize Afrikaners per se. But occasionally they view Afrikaners as having changed from a people of the open veld to a people of an increasingly closed nature, in contrast with the Dutch, who see themselves as taking a larger and larger part in European affairs and as becoming ever more international in orientation.

The greatest obstacle that the anti-South African movements face may be economic ties. Perhaps strangely, there is relatively little Dutch investment in South Africa. Trade between the two is not large compared with other countries, but exports from South Africa to the Netherlands rose 350 percent from 1960 to 1971, and Dutch exports to South Africa in the same period were up 269 percent. Again, the Dutch ambivalence is relevant here; more frequently, perhaps, than is true of other countries, some Dutch firms have left South Africa, while others have launched new ventures there.

But one generalization about South Africa does hold for the Dutch; they know about Afrikaners. In the Netherlands there is neither the ignorance nor the apathy that marks the attitudes of almost all the rest of the world toward the Afrikaner.

AFRICA

Ever since the late 1600s when a Dutchman declared in Cape Town, "I am an Afrikaner," there has been a paradox: the one white group that proclaims itself as being "of Africa" is the group least known but most harshly criticized by the black people of the continent. Throughout almost all of black Africa one can generalize about African attitudes toward the Afrikaner. They run deep in emotion and shallow in knowledge. The term "Afrikaner" is not always understood, but it is known that there are white people in South Africa who are not English or French and who run the government.

European social scientists living in Africa have more to say about Afrikaners than Africans do. In the course of a lengthy paper on relations between black Africa and South Africa, a white scholar from Makerere College in Uganda (Shaw, September 1969) examined Afrikanerdom and concluded that Afrikaner nationalism has been the chief stimulant to African nationalism. He commented that, "initially, the laager mentality of the Afrikaner was based on fear of British colonialism, and so shared its genesis with the many state varieties of African nationalism, but the removal of the intermediate colonial factor has brought the two ideologies into direct conflict."

The average black African is understandably less analytical. In August 1973, I arrived at the Federal Palace Hotel in Lagos and felt in my pocket for coins to tip a waiting bellman. Lacking change, I offered him a Rand note. He looked at it carefully, his eyes following the writing, then thrust it back, saying, "No, that is Dutch apartheid money." Ten years ago, no Nigerian would have made this distinction; in fact, ignorance about South Africa was abysmal. Suzanne Cronje (June 1965), a militant critic of South Africa, has related an experience she had in 1965:

I had been away in London for over a year, and when I returned to Northern Nigeria last October, I paid the traditional courtesy call to the District Head soon after my arrival, as was expected of me.... I explained about Mandela and the trial, and how his

defence speech had moved people in London so that they had a recording made of it, with a famous British actor to speak Mandela's words; the A. N. C. wanted Sir Ahmadu to have a copy because they were hoping for his support--for the support of the whole of Northern Nigeria.

The District Head nodded. "Sir Ahmadu will do what he can for these unfortunate South Americans," he said.

"Africans," I almost screeched. "South Africans."

"I must have heard you wrongly, heard you wrongly," said the District Head, frowning a little at my vehemence. "And didn't you say something about a white government? In Africa? Still?

However, despite these disappointing reactions, the attitude towards South Africa has changed radically in the ten years since I first came to West Africa. Then, even the Universities showed a lack of concern and information which was not far removed from that displayed by my District Head. Today, most literate Nigerians are at least aware that something is radically wrong in South Africa, even if they cannot say precisely what.

Although Mrs. Cronje felt there had been a decade of change from 1955 to 1965, the changes were perhaps greater both before and after that period when Nigeria was concentrating first on obtaining independence and then on setting its ship of state on a new course. When I was in Lagos in 1947, few Nigerians except intellectuals and editors such as Nnamdi Azikwe or Mbonu Ojike ever thought of South Africa. I had traveled through the American South in 1946 with Ojike when he had been forced to wear what was then rare African dress so that we could stay in reasonably decent hotels. At that time we discussed going together to South Africa, but he was afraid to go, even though he had heard from Ralph Bunche of the American statesman's sojourn in Cape Town in the 1930s.

Since 1965 knowledge of South Africa has escalated in Nigeria, and the term "Afrikaner" is much more widely understood in intellectual circles. When northerners such as the immensely able Prime Minister Balewa were in power, there was a certain tolerance of South Africa because the Muslim aristocracy of the north could scarcely conceive of someone asserting a doctrine of superiority, racial or otherwise, over them similar to the feeling many of them had toward southern Nigerians such as the Ibos.

Today the mood is sharply different. A man of exceptional ability such as General Gowon, tolerant as he has been of the Biafrans, has very little patience with what he perceives to be a doctrine of racial superiority among Afrikaners. An indication of how South Africa has moved into public consciousness in Nigeria was the headline given by the Nigerian Sunday Times (Lagos, September 23, 1973) in a tribute on the death of Oged Macaulay: HOW APARTHEID WAS FOUGHT IN NIGERIA. The same issue carried another headline, APARTHEID IN NIGERIA, on a story alleging racial discrimination by whites at the Ibadan Recreational Club.

However, one must not exaggerate knowledge of South Africa in black Africa. Dr. Victor DuBois, a political scientist long resident in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, told me privately (August 1973): "In my experience Afrikaners are rarely discussed at all, and when Ivoriens do refer to them they usually just say 'the whites in South Africa,' without regard to language group, or, more often, 'the racists in South Africa.' One of the things which impressed me about Houphouet's abortive campaign to initiate a dialogue between black Africa and South Africa was his statement that 'They [Afrikaners] are Africans too.' It was a most unusual thing to see in print."

One indication of the degree of knowledge in black Africa about South Africa emerges from a survey conducted for the Voice of America in Zaire. The survey, which was carried out among secondary school graduates, found that these Zairians thought that 80 percent of Americans were black and that 75 percent of South Africans were black. The rough accuracy with respect to South Africa is probably a reflection of how widely Radio South Africa is listened to in Zaire. The misconception about the American population perhaps stems from the great emphasis that the United States Information Service places upon pictures of black people in its publications and reading centers. But these comparatively well-educated Zairians generally made no distinction between English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. In the days of disorder following independence I did encounter individual Congolese who justified particularly brutal assaults and rapes against blond Belgians on the grounds that they were Flemish and, as one Congolese commented to me in French (in then Leopoldville, July 1960): "They treated us like the South Africans."

At a conference of some 2000 leading jurists and lawyers from 135 countries, convened at Abidjan in the Ivory Coast in August 1973, I

asked a cross section of 206 participants to give their opinions of Afrikaners. The interviews, conducted with the help of one assistant, were necessarily cursory, and sometimes we spoke to people in groups. But the opportunity was an unusual one, partly because the conference was held on the African continent, and partly because such issues as human rights (the 25th anniversary of the United Nations declaration was celebrated during the meeting), terrorism, and allied subjects were discussed under the general rubric of "World Peace through Law."

There were Afrikaners at the conference, including a judge and a National Party member of parliament. There were also English-speaking whites and an Asian South African. Of the 206 participants questioned, only twenty-three, or approximately 10 percent, of those asked about Afrikaners were able to answer the question without prior explanation of who or what an Afrikaner is. Even such acclaimed jurists as former Chief Justice Warren of the United States Supreme Court, and Thurgood Marshall, a Justice of the Supreme Court and formerly the leading lawyer for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, were not very well informed about Afrikaners.

On the other hand, the category "white South Africans" was recognized by virtually all of those interviewed. At this world gathering of people with strongly liberal attitudes, there was criticism and condemnation of white South Africans as a group, though few went beyond words such as "discrimination," "oppression," and "apartheid" to specifics.

In an address on human rights in a plenary session, former Chief Justice Warren spoke of human rights in Africa and followed criticism of apartheid with condemnation of near genocide in Africa, apparently with reference to Burundi. He warned African countries against the use of mere rhetoric about apartheid as an excuse not to look at problems of the violation of human rights within their own boundaries.

The African delegates--for example, the Solicitors General of Liberia and Nigeria--expressed stronger views against South Africa in general and against white rule in particular, but they were not noticeably more sophisticated about the internal politics of South Africa or about Afrikaners than were the delegates from Australia, Indonesia, Norway, or the United States.

A condition for holding the conference in the Ivory Coast was the

acceptance of South Africans as delegates. Although Nigeria was strongly represented (almost all of the justices of the highest federal court and those of many state courts were there), and although Nigeria's leader, General Gowon, had recently been particularly outspoken against white rule in southern Africa, there were no objections among Nigerians--or other Africans--to the presence of Afrikaners and no reported unpleasantness at seeing the freely displayed badges that identified the South Africans. This was in contrast to the very strong emotions that erupted between representatives of the Arab states and Israel on issues such as terrorism. Senator Jacob Javits of the United States and others referred to the evils of terrorism vis-a-vis the virtues of liberation movements in southern Africa. Although the Middle East question exploded repeatedly, no effort was made to present a pro-South African or a specifically Afrikaner viewpoint. Had such views been put forward, it is likely that the controversy would have been extremely intense.

The African participants--including the Chief Justice of the Ivory Coast, a justice of the East African High Court, and Ghanaian and Senegalese judges--did not make an issue of South Africa, which, in fact, was not on the agenda. From my interviews it was clear that, with some notable exceptions, African views were strongly anti-South Africa. However, the Ivoriens, whose president, Houphouet Boigny, has been the chief African exponent of "dialogue," felt a responsibility for hospitality as the host country.

Kenya is usually categorized in western countries as among the "moderate" African nations. It has little association with the Soviet Union or with China. Its booming capitalist economy, with great and growing disparities in income between "rich" and "poor" Africans, stands in marked contrast to socialist and egalitarian Tanzania, for example. But Kenya has been virtually as intense in its anti-white South African feeling as Tanzania has been. Only the attraction of holding the International Monetary Fund meeting in Nairobi was strong enough to bend official policies to the point of accommodating an Afrikaner Finance Minister and his entourage.

The press and radio in Kenya are intensely hostile. Typical of this attitude was a feature article in the magazine section of the Nairobi Daily Nation by the former chief sub-editor of the Rand Daily Mail (Robie, March 30, 1973). It was entitled "The Cruel Land," and it devoted sixteen paragraphs to explaining Afrikaners. Here is an example of its tone: "Afrikaners, even though most have mixed blood

somewhere in their family tree, have a curious fear of interbreeding. It was they who mainly wanted the law against interracial sex. Yet they commit almost 70 percent of the offenses." The writer goes on to discuss "dirty weekends" in Lourenço Marques, in Swaziland, and in Excelsior in the Free State, and then to poke fun at the reverence of a platteland farmer for Prime Minister Vorster.

Correlatively, however, many Kenyans feel a sympathetic concern for black South African affairs. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu has close friends among leading Kenyan politicians, and says that nowhere is there greater interest.

As might be expected, those who live in southern Africa have greater knowledge of South Africa and of Afrikaners. A well-educated Portuguese long resident in Mozambique considers most Afrikaners to be "hardworking and wholeheartedly dedicated to country life, even when living in towns." He points to the forces of history, environment, and religion as developing the Afrikaner's capacity for work, for perseverance, for endurance. On visits to South Africa he was surprised to see how lacking in vanity Afrikaners are when it comes to class, fortune, and social distinction. Both in South Africa and in Mozambique he sees Afrikaners as fraternizing with fewer class distinctions than exist among the English or Portuguese.

This observer admires the Afrikaners "as a very handsome and vital people, with tall, strong, and graceful youths with healthy coloring," who "stand in vivid contrast with the not so rare degenerate specimens you find in big European and American cities." He attributes this vigor to a love of sports, outdoor life, long distance traveling, climate, diet, and other factors that make Afrikaners outstanding representatives of the Nordic race.

In reply to queries about attitudes in Mozambique among others than the Portuguese, a different view emerged. In his opinion, "the Mulattos, Indians, and better educated Africans are, naturally enough, hostile to the policy of apartheid, which they identify with Afrikaners, although they admit that the South African government has done a great deal for the social and economic betterment of the Africans."

Less educated Africans in Mozambique distinguish between Afrikaans- and English-speaking white South Africans by calling Afrikaners "mabuno," and they generally grant more prestige to the English-speaking whites. The same Portuguese observer commented:

"Afrikaners' personal contacts with Africans are more cordial than I had supposed, and this is true of most Portuguese. I never saw the Afrikaners being brutal or crude. They often address Africans kindly and in African languages, something only a few of us Portuguese ever do."

But another judgment is less favorable: "Of course, Afrikaners haven't got the finesse, sense of fair play, or self-control of the English-speaking whites, who, indubitably, have better worldly manners and are more sophisticated and cosmopolitan. Afrikaners seem to be somehow shut-in, provincial, and xenophobic, looking with special suspicion on us Catholics. But the younger Afrikaner generation is changing."

Do attitudes differ with the length of time a Portuguese has lived in Mozambique? In one man's view, "Those of us who have lived here from childhood know the differences between Afrikaner and English. The majority of us prefer the English, if for no other reason than the fact that we can speak English but not Afrikaans, and there is more contact with the English, especially among businessmen. The metropolitan Portuguese who have been in Mozambique only a few years draw no distinctions among white South Africans. But many Europeans here are fearful of the consequences of political power in the hands of wild and incompetent African extremists. They look favorably on federation with South Africa and the differences in Afrikaner racial and religious outlooks seem not to worry them" (personal correspondence, January 1974).

Probably the country in the world (except South Africa) where the highest percentage of citizens have opinions on Afrikaners, and have had personal contact with them, is Lesotho. As I have pointed out, this paper is not devoted to explaining why people may think, rightly or wrongly, what they think, but it is worth noting that most Basuto who come into prolonged contact with Afrikaners do so in an employee-employer context, and not in one where broader philosophical assessments are likely.

The consensus of a group of educated Basuto who are known for political moderation and who have dealt with a wide cross section of their fellow countrymen, was expressed in answer to our query (interview, November 1973) as follows:

We probably know the Afrikaner better, from a particular vantage point, than the people of any country outside of South Africa because such a high percentage of our people either work or have worked in South Africa, and because our towns are on the borders of our country and, in most cases, lie just across the boundary from a South African town where we often shop.

We know that in the towns we visit almost every policeman is an Afrikaner and that most of the store clerks are also. We know they vote for a government which supports racial policies that are at best conservative and at worst are denigrating of our people because of our race. The racial attitudes of such Afrikaners are crude, untutored, and often insulting, either by design or through ignorance.

This is not true of the better-educated Afrikaner. We do know the difference. We live in a free country, we are highly literate by African and Third-World standards, and we are highly politicized. We find very little distinction between English and Afrikaner if education is removed as a factor. But we don't meet English-speaking policemen. The English who visit Lesotho display a deep-seated racial prejudice. They believe the Afrikaner is inferior to them, and they are patronizing to us. If we were Afrikaners, we would dislike the English.

We do generally prefer a contest between ourselves and the English South Africans. They have a sense of honor and rules for fighting. We beat the English troops but a man like Leabua [Jonathan] doesn't rub it in. But the Afrikaner fought for his freedom so he must understand our hopes and the hopes of Africans in South Africa. If he doesn't, then he doesn't understand his own history, and this is a serious threat to the Afrikaner future. Sometimes intellectuals don't like to admit that they listen to the S.A.B.C., but they do. Our intellectuals are angered by the United Kingdom attitude toward Rhodesia, and this also turns them against the English-speaking South African. The latter cannot use the excuse that "the Afrikaner rules and we are powerless" when his own people do rule in Rhodesia. Of course, Catholicism is strong in Lesotho, but this doesn't set us against Calvinist Afrikaners as much as some people might think.

The black African country whose citizens appear to have the most favorable--or some would say the least unfavorable--view of Afrikaners is Malawi. Neither conclusion would be based on personal evidence so far as the majority of Malawians is concerned. The fact is simply that President Kamuzu Banda has the charisma and the power to influence attitudes. Both persuasion and the threat of sanctions decree hospitality for Afrikaners in Malawi. Most official visitors have taken to Malawi and the Malawians in a genuinely warm and enthusiastic way, following the example of a number of cabinet ministers. I have observed occasional exceptions among politicians when there was an imperious use of "boy" to waiters and loud remarks about their hosts which the servants, at least, overheard. The same ill-mannered acts would have drawn reaction or retaliation in Zambia, but in Malawi, even under provocation, the welcome mat decreed from on high is not muddled.

A rather remarkable story concerns a prominent Afrikaner after two years' residence in Malawi. Garth van Rooyen, General Manager of Air Malawi, was frank enough to tell me how, quite unconsciously, he had become something of a litmus paper for indicating attitudinal change. Van Rooyen, a big, bluff, goateed Afrikaner, grew up in the Transkei and spent thirty-five years of his adult life in South West Africa, where he shared the prevailing white attitudes towards Africans--rather harsher than those in most of South Africa. For two years he had been working daily with Malawians from cabinet ministers to janitors. Then, while he was on a regular business visit to Johannesburg, several times he was asked by Africans where he came from. Van Rooyen was mystified because this had never happened to him before. He answered, "I'm a South African." Shaking their heads, his questioners insisted that he must come from another country. Van Rooyen said he came to believe that the generous way Malawians had treated him for the last two years had somehow influenced his own demeanor towards Africans to such an extent that ordinary Africans in Johannesburg assumed this gruff Afrikaner must be a stranger. Van Rooyen did not know whether he was more relaxed, looked Africans more in the eye as fellow human beings, had a more friendly tone in his voice, or what. He simply said, "I must be a changed man" (Munger, 1969:3b).

It is sometimes extraordinary to feel in Malawi that this may be the country--or at least the African country--where Afrikaners and Africans are most congenial. If this is true, the lion's share of the credit must go to President Kamuzu Banda. When Banda spoke to the

students and staff at Stellenbosch University, he had the presence of mind to pause as he entered the hall, reach out and put his arms around two Afrikaner boys while the cameras clicked. In a long and brilliant speech, Banda stressed that it is white people who have been oppressed--namely, the Afrikaner, who understands the aspiration of the Africans. The rapport was evident when the crowd sang in Afrikaans in praise of the Malawian President. When one relates this anecdote in most countries overseas, it is met with an attitude of disbelief and strained credibility.

To most citizens of black Africa, particularly those without personal knowledge of South Africa, Afrikaners are almost inevitably cardboard characters; their merits are all but unknown, and their vices are both emphasized and caricatured.

This is not how the eminent Ghanaian Robert Gardiner, Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, looks at Afrikaners. Long before the days of "dialogue" and before Nkrumah's megalomania, Robert Gardiner was Chief of Cabinet in Accra. In 1951, after Foreign Minister Eric Louw of South Africa had lunched with Chief Minister Kwame Nkrumah, there were rumors that Ghana might send a High Commissioner to its fellow member of the Commonwealth, South Africa. One evening I discussed this with Nkrumah, in the company of a white and a black South African. At the time he favored the idea, but he said that the selection of the right man was crucial. From what Nkrumah and others hinted, the finger clearly pointed to Robert Gardiner. The next night at his home Gardiner and his lovely West Indian wife mused over the possibility. Gardiner said he didn't know much about Afrikaners but he did know that they didn't have horns. He expressed confidence that if he were to go to Pretoria and if he were to take the time there to understand Afrikaners and their problems, they would understand how he, as a black Ghanaian, felt about racial matters. The appointment did not materialize, for various reasons. In any case, the Gardiners probably would not have gone to Pretoria because, at that time, they felt that the education of their children in South Africa would prove an unacceptable barrier.

Years later in Swaziland on the day it became independent, Gardiner welcomed the chance to lunch and to talk seriously with Anton Rupprecht and other Afrikaners. One is not free to quote from the private conversations but in an article written at the time for The Star (Johannesburg, March 18, 1967, under the headline "Great Need for Human Contact"), Gardiner revealed some thoughts he had when passing through Johannesburg:

At least I saw houses like ordinary houses in other parts of the world. I saw people drive cars in the normal human way and that in itself is reassuring. The place is not occupied by monsters. I do not want to sound naive--but sometimes when you know that the other man is not a monster it helps. Remember, prejudice is not common only to South Africa. In some remote villages of Africa there are people who do not believe that white people are human. It is not contempt. It is a measure of their ignorance.

Perhaps no man in black Africa could play a greater role in understanding Afrikaners than Dr. Gardiner. And not just because of his sense of history and his personal perception. Many important individuals from black Africa have visited South Africa, but few of them have had the courage and self-confidence to speak openly and frankly. It may be that because of his United Nations commitment Robert Gardiner will never come to know Afrikaners in their own country. If so, it will be a two-way loss.

My impression over the years is that Ghanaians are more willing to suspend some judgments on Afrikaners than are other Africans far from the Republic of South Africa. This has been true of Robert Gardiner, of the Ghanaian leader, Kofi Busia, and of the man in the street. The following comment on Afrikaners was offered by a graduate student from Ashanti (Orpen, 1968):

It is not really right to express a view unless you really know something about a people. I recently wrote a scientific paper in aeronautics with a white South African, but I'm not sure he is an Afrikaner. [He was.] I know historically that the Afrikaners and the English fought over the booty in South Africa and over who would rule, just the same way that the British and the Dutch and the Danes fought over who would rule in my part of Africa. But I have the impression that the South African government doesn't want to give our black people a chance and that is the fault of the Afrikaners.

South Africa's role in the liberation of Ethiopia from the hands of the Italians has been well told. One might think there would be in Ethiopia an element of recognition of this contribution, if not outright gratitude to those English and Afrikaner soldiers who fought their way into Addis Ababa.

In 1967, I had an audience with His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie, in which the Lion of Judah spoke neutrally, if nostalgically, of General Smuts and the days of World War II. The next day, in the course of a two-hour audience with the fifty-year-old Crown Prince, I asked him about South Africa's role in defeating the Italians. He acknowledged that there had been "some" South Africans in the allied forces, but said they had left a very bad impression in Ethiopia. When I asked why, he said it was because they had taken all the factories with them when they left. Naturally, I wondered what factories, and thought how difficult it would have been to truck factories from Addis Ababa to Johannesburg over the roads of that day. But he was adamant in his view and there the matter rested.

In 1974, two student generations later, the reaction among educated Ethiopians in Addis Ababa to questions about South Africa's role is even more negative. The present belief is that Ethiopia was liberated primarily through the struggles of the Ethiopian forces operating inside the country. The "English" came in when the Italians were ready to surrender. There were brother Africans from Kenya along with the British, and also Indians, but there were no South Africans. Furthermore, the "English" acted so badly when they left Eritrea, taking all of their equipment and some of the captured Italian material with them, that in the eyes of patriotic Ethiopians they lost any kudos they might have claimed from helping to defeat the Italians. The bitterness expressed against the "English" include their "betrayal" of Ethiopia at the time of the Italian invasion, and the fraternization of British and Italian troops along the Ethiopian-Sudanese border before the entry of Italy into World War II.

A highly placed young Ethiopian commented: "We are very interested in the freedom fighters in Angola and Guinea, but we have sort of given up on change in South Africa, at least as far as forceful change is concerned. We don't draw much of a distinction between English and Afrikaner; not many people know the difference, though I do. But I and my friends, we mostly hope for a change in attitude by the Afrikaner government. With our concentration on domestic problems and always the question of the succession to the throne, we would be more or less satisfied with some improvement in South Africa. We feel this way even though our consciousness of South Africa and oppression there has been raised by the presence of the O.A.U. in Addis Ababa" (Interview with Kwasi Bofah, February 1974).

CONCLUSIONS

The original length of this paper was a function of the amorphous nature of the material and the broad scope of the coverage. Lacking the large sums required for precise surveys, the presentation is more anecdotal and inchoate than definitive. However, several conclusions may be stated.

(1) Knowledge of Afrikaners is quite limited throughout the world, except for significant numbers of people in Lesotho, the Netherlands, and England. The paucity of knowledge is probably even greater than Afrikaners may expect.

(2) The world outside South Africa rarely distinguishes between English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking whites. Those English-speaking whites who bask in an image of themselves as "good guys" valiantly opposing a "bad guy" Afrikaner government are cherishing a chimera.

(3) The favorable image of the gallant Boers fighting the might of the British Empire at the turn of the century is still alive and shows surprising persistence. However, it contributes to an image of today's Afrikaner as a rural 19th-century patriarch.

(4) The negative image of Afrikaners today derives largely from known or imputed attitudes on race relations. This overwhelms all other inputs to the knowledgeable citizen outside South Africa. An analogy can be made with the attitudes of English-speaking South Africans a century and a half ago. A student of the period (Streak, December 1972: 357) concluded that, between 1820 and 1840, "English opinion of the Afrikaners was based primarily upon their estimation of what the relationship between White and Black should be. Herein lies the reason, or at least a large part of it, for the Afrikaners' poor image amongst the English...."

(5) Qualities that most Afrikaners value in their people, such as religious devotion, family loyalty, a pioneering spirit, resistance to Communism, and just plain decent egalitarianism, are neither admired nor disliked by the world; they simply are not known.

(6) In my judgment there is an enormous amount of misinformation about Afrikaners abroad in the world, much of it malicious, for a

variety of reasons. But it would be a fallacious corollary to suggest that if the world knew the Afrikaner better, it would like him more. Experience suggests that better informed people are as likely to be sharp critics as they are to be admirers of Afrikaners. Being "better informed" is a highly subjective assessment. But it strikes me as extraordinary how many people from diverse countries have visited South Africa for at least a few weeks and cannot recall ever having met an Afrikaner. Many have deepened their image of Afrikaners while in South Africa through the people they have met and the newspapers they have read so that they appear to have absorbed the views of other South Africans about Afrikaners.

(7) Among the small fraction of less than one percent of the best informed people in most countries, the perception of Afrikaners outside of racial issues and government decrees is abysmally shallow. Politically sagacious editors and political scientists have few clues as to what the Afrikaans press is saying in its editorials.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

More than eighty people--too many to mention by name--contributed ideas and anecdotes to this study. Particular thanks go to Wilma Fairchild and Joanne Clark for their cheerful editing.

FOOTNOTES

¹ For example, a letter of August 19, 1963, by Academician D. I. Scherbakov of the Soviet Academy on Antarctic Research states that S.A.A.R. members could not attend a meeting on geological research to be held in Cape Town because of Resolution 1861 of the General Assembly of November 7, 1962, calling upon UN members to boycott South Africa.

² For a fuller discussion of the thinking on South Africa in key circles inside and outside the Brazilian government, see Glasgow, February 1974. Glasgow is a Trinidad-born scholar of Brazilian-African affairs.

³ For an excellent succinct account, see Lysle E. Meyer, The American Image of South Africa in Historical Perspective.

⁴ Mr. Dulles subsequently became the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

⁵ In the subsequent thirty-five years Professor Ferguson has accumulated notes for a book on American-South African relations from the Boer War to the present, but he has now retired and is involved in other projects. For the view of an Afrikaner who fought in the Boer War on American support see Krige, Jan, American Sympathy in the Boer War.

⁶ I am grateful to Dr. Clement Keto of Temple University for the pertinent references from Consular Despatches, Cape Town General Records of the Department of State (National Archives Microfilm Publications, Washington, D.C.; T. 191, Roll 15). Applicable correspondence includes: W. Van Ness to Dr. Leyds, Lydenburg District, January 15, 1893; George F. Hollis to Josiah Quincy, Cape Town, May 9, 1893; W. Van Ness to Leyds, Johannesburg, September 18, 1893; and John Ross to Leyds, Johannesburg, September 16, 1893.

⁷ This incident was described by Clement T. Keto in a paper presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Philadelphia, November 8-11, 1972. Quoted by special permission of the author.

⁸ A much more critical Lelyveld article was entitled "Where 78% of the People Are the Others," which appeared in the New York Times Magazine, June 9, 1966.

⁹ I have seen private correspondence between key American and Soviet scientists concerning an international meeting in Cape Town on Antarctica; the Soviet scientists were unable to attend and pleaded for a change of venue citing UN resolutions against South Africa.

¹⁰ Dr. Tiryakian was one of the first American social scientists to see the present-day Afrikaner from 1957 on as other than a stereotype. His best study is a paper entitled "The Rational Basis of Partition for South Africa," delivered at a faculty seminar drawn from universities in the Boston area at a time when Tiryakian was an assistant professor at Harvard. The paper was later published, with slight revision, as "Sociological Realism: Partition for South Africa?" in Social Forces, 46 (December 1967).

¹¹ S. M. Nabrit, "The Nabrit Visit to South Africa." This report made in 1964 to the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program is quoted with special permission of Dr. Nabrit and of the Program.

¹² This column was distributed by the Washington Star syndicate, November 25, 1962, and widely printed in the American press. The headline in the Los Angeles Times of November 26, 1962, was "South African Problems Not All Black, White."

¹³ Let it be noted that these comments may be viewed as ex parte inasmuch as I have classified myself as the sole witness who testified both pro and con concerning the activities of American business in South Africa. The only South African witness called was extremely hostile to United States business investment.

¹⁴ Paper presented to the 16th annual meeting of the African Studies Association, Syracuse, New York, 1973. Quotations are by special permission of the author, who is at Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

REFERENCES

Anglin, Douglas

- 1960 "Canada and apartheid." *International Journal*, 15 (Spring): 122-137.

Botha, M. C.

- 1972 "Blood group gene frequencies: an indication of the genetic constitution of population samples in Cape Town." *South African Medical Journal* (April).

Close, M. E., G. C. Kinloch, and L. Schlemmer

- 1971 "The Afrikaner as an emergent minority: an alternative view." *British Journal of Sociology*, 12 (June).

Congress, 92nd

- 1972 "Prohibiting detention camps." Hearings Before Subcommittee 3 of the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives, H. R. 234 and Related Bills. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office.

Congress, 93rd

- 1973 1st Session, Part 3, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs (March 27, 28, 29; April 3, 5, 6; and July 13). Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office.

Cronje, Suzanne

- 1965 "Nigeria and apartheid." *The New African* (June). London.

Davenport, T. R. H.

- 1963 "Nationalism and conciliation: the Bourassa and Hertzog posture." *Canadian Historical Review*, 44 (Summer): 193-212.

Drew, Archibald

- 1969 "The Afrikaners as an emergent minority." *British Journal of Sociology*, 10 (December).

Dulles, Allen Welsh

- 1902 *The Boer War: A History*. Washington.

REFERENCES

Du Toit, Brian

1966 "Politics and change in South Africa." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 7 (March).

Ferguson, John H.

1939 *American Diplomacy and the Boer War*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Freidel, Frank

1952 *Franklin Delano Roosevelt: the Apprenticeship*. Boston: Little Brown and Company.

Gallagher, Charles F.

1973 "The finite fiftieth state." *American Universities Field Staff Report on North America*, Vol. 1, no. 1.

Glasgow, Roy

1974 "Brazil's new Africa policy." *Munger Africana Library Notes*, No. 23 (February). Pasadena, California.

Greenberg, Daniel

1970a "South Africa: booming nation's research and industry benefit from close ties with the United States." *Science* (July 10).

1970b "South Africa: university system follows apartheid pattern: government enforces limits on academic dissenters." *Science* (July 11).

Harnetty, Peter

1963 "South Africa and the commonwealth." *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*, 2 (November): 43.

Hawkes, Arthur

1913 "General Hertzog: lawyer, soldier, statesman." *Canadian Courier* (September 6). Toronto.

Hentoff, Nat (ed.)

1969 *Black Anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism*. New York: Baron.

REFERENCES

Kennan, George

- 1971 "South Africa: three visitors report." Munger Africana Library Notes, No. 2 (March): 6. Pasadena, California.

Koss, Stephen

- 1973 The Pro-Boers: the Anatomy of an Anti-War Movement. University of Chicago Press.

Kotze, D. J. (ed.)

- 1950 Letters of the American Missionaries, 1835-1838. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, No. 31: 70, 167, and 215.

Krige, Jan

- 1933 American Sympathy in the Boer War. Automatic Printing Press.

Laurendeau, Andre

- 1973 Witness for Quebec. Toronto: Macmillan.

Lott, Jacques P.

- 1973 "Slander and racism as tools of government researchers: a case study." In a special issue of the League of Men Voters' publication Light (April-May).

Loubser, Jan J.

- 1968 "Calvinism, equality, and inclusion." P. 379 in S. N. Eisenstadt (ed.) The Protestant Ethic and Modernization. New York: Basic Books.

Mathews, Harry G.

- 1971 "Racial dimensions of the United Nations behavior: the commonwealth Caribbean." University of Denver Studies in Race and Nations, Vol. 3, Study 2:9.

McNab, Roy

- 1973 "Can South Africa make sense in the world?" South African International Journal, 3 (January): 159.

Meisler, Stanley

- 1968 "Telling it in Afrikaans." The Nation (May 13): 625.

REFERENCES

Munger, Edwin S.

1955 "American ignorance and criticism of South Africa." Tydskrif vir Rasse-Aangeleenthede (Stellenbosch), Vol. 6, no. 4 (July) 30-34.

1958 "Self-confidence and self-criticism in South Africa." Foreign Affairs, XXXVI, no. 4 (July).

1961 "In dutch with the Dutch." African Field Reports. Cape Town: Struik: 471-78.

1967a "Africa in 240 minutes." Africa Report (October): 67-70. Washington.

1967b Afrikaner and African Nationalism. London: Oxford University Press.

1969a "South Africa: are there silver linings?" Foreign Affairs (January): 16-21.

1969b "President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi." American Universities Field Staff Central and Southern Africa Series, Vol. 13, no. 1.

Orpen, Neil

1968 "East African and Abyssinian campaigns." South African Forces, World War II, Vol. 1. Cape Town: Purnell.

Parkin, Sir George

Papers, MG 300D12, Vol. 16, PAC No. 4661-.

Seiler, John (ed.)

1972 "Dear Franklin..." Letters to President Roosevelt from Lincoln MacVeagh, U. S. Minister to South Africa 1942-1943." Munger Africana Library Notes #12 (March). Pasadena, California.

Shaw, T. M.

1969 "Communication between southern and free Africa." Mimeographed paper presented at the East African Academy Conference at Makerere College (September).

REFERENCES

Solzhenitsyn, Alexander

1973 Gulag Archipelago. New York: Harper and Row.

Streak, Michael

1972 "The Afrikaner as viewed by the English, 1795-1854. "

Ph.D. dissertation, Johannesburg: Rand Afrikaans University.

Stultz, Newell

[in press] Afrikaner Politics, 1934-1948. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Trapido, Stanley

1963 "Political institutions and Afrikaner social structures in the Republic of South Africa." American Political Science Review, 57 (March): 75-87.

Tucker, Martin

1965 "Color and guilt." Africa Today (February): 13.

Turner, Henry M.

1898 "Letter from South Africa." Voice of Missions (June 1): 7.

Urquhart, Brian

1965 "Trade and sympathy: the Canadians against apartheid." The New African (April): 43-4.

Van den Berghe, Pierre L.

1966 "Albinocracy in South Africa--a case study in the growth of tyranny." Journal of African and Asian Studies, 1 (January): 43-9.

Viljoen, Henning G. and Elise Grobler

1972 "A comparison between the moral codes of American, Korean, and a group of Afrikaans-speaking South African students." Journal of Psychology (February): 187-89.

Von der Ropp, Klaus

1972 "German attitudes to South Africa." South African International (April): 218-26.

REFERENCES

Wade, Mason

1968 The French Canadians. Toronto: Macmillan.

Weisbord, Robert G. and Arthur Stein

1970 Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew. Westport: Negro Universities Press.

Volume I / 1970-71

1	A Black Mauritian Poet Speaks <i>Edouard Maunick</i>	\$1
2	South Africa: Three Visitors Report <i>George Kennan, Leon Gordenker, Wilton Dillon</i>	\$2
3	Choiseul Papers. Unpublished ms 1761 on secret British and French machinations in West Africa	\$4
4	How Black South African Visitors View the U.S. <i>E. S. Munger</i>	\$1
5	Current Politics in Ghana <i>John Fynn, M.P.</i>	\$1
6	Walking 300 Miles with Guerillas Through the Bush of Eastern Angola (Map) <i>Basil Davidson</i>	\$2

Volume II / 1971-72

7	An Exploration Near Agades and Timbuktu In Advance of the 1973 Total Solar Eclipse <i>Jay M. Pasachoff</i>	\$2
8	A Brown Afrikaner Speaks: A Coloured Poet and Philosopher Looks Ahead <i>Adam Small</i>	\$1
9	Dialogue on Aggression and Violence in Man <i>Louis Leakey, Robert Ardrey</i>	\$3
10	The Past and Future of the Zulu People <i>Gatsha Buthelezi</i>	\$1
11	The Anya-nya: Ten Months Travel with Its Forces Inside the Southern Sudan (Map) <i>Allan Reed</i>	\$2
12	"Dear Franklin . . ." Letters to President Roosevelt from Lincoln MacVeagh, U.S. Minister to South Africa, 1942-43 <i>Comment by John Seiler</i>	\$3

Volume III / 1972-73

13	Eritrean Liberation Front: A Close-Up View (Map, Photographs) <i>Richard Lobban</i>	\$1
14	The Uganda Coup and the Internationalization of Political Violence <i>James Mittelman</i>	\$2
15	Sierra Leone Notebook (1893) Revealing important deletions from official despatches of Governor Francis Fleming (Map) <i>Comment by Kenneth Mills</i>	\$3
16	Blood Group Frequencies: An Indication of the Genetic Constitution of Population Samples in Cape Town <i>M. C. Botha, M.D., with Judith Pritchard</i> <i>Comment by R. D. Owen</i>	\$3
17	The Ovambo: Our Problems and Hopes (Illustration, Maps) <i>Bishop Leonard N. Auala of Southwest Africa/Namibia</i>	\$2
18	Inside Amin's Uganda: More Africans Murdered	\$1

Volume IV / 1973-74

19	Report on Portugal's War in Guiné-Bissau (206 pages; 27 photos, maps) Also available in hard cover <i>Al J. Venter</i>	\$5
20	Will BophuthaTswana Join Botswana? (photographs, maps) <i>Chief Minister Lukas Mangope</i>	\$1
21	Demographic Trends in the Republic of Zaire <i>Professor Joseph Boute</i>	\$1
22	South Africa's Homelands: Two African Views <i>Chief Minister Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa and Chief Clemens Kapuuo of South West Africa/Namibia</i>	\$2
23	Pragmatism and Idealism in Brazilian Foreign Policy in Southern Africa <i>Professor Roy Glasgow</i>	\$1
24	In Search of Man: Some Questions and Answers in African Archaeology and Primatology <i>Campbell, Clark, Dart, Fossey, Hamburg, Hay, Howell, Isaac, M. Leakey, Van Lawick-Goodall</i>	\$1

Volume V / 1974-75 (partial listing)

- 25 The Role of Kiswahili on the Development of Tanzania
George Mhina

Now available from the Munger Africana Library

The Hunter and His Art
A Survey of Rock Art in Southern Africa

by Jalmar and Ione Rudner

60 color-plates - maps - diagrams
10x11½ inches - 288 pages

\$32 plus 85¢ for postage and handling

The Munger Africana Library is housed in the Donald E. Baxter, M.D., Hall of the Humanities and Social Sciences at the California Institute of Technology in Pasadena, California.

It is devoted solely to Africa south of the Sahara, and includes over 20,000 books and pamphlets. The greatest strength of the collection lies in its rare books and political pamphlets.

Serious research scholars are invited to use the library, and working facilities are provided on request. The library is non-circulating.